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Defoe's political rhetoric.

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Defoe's political rhetoric, 1697-1707

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Ph. D. Thesis

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Thesis Abstract

This thesis analyzes the contradictions in Defoe's political rhetoric before the 1707 Treaty of Union in terms of the struggle between the psychoanalytic life and death drives. The contest, in which one rhetorician points to flaws in, or denies the legitimacy of, another's position, is compared with Lacan's theorization of the internal conflicts founding identity and its misperceptions such as the delusion of wholeness. Polemic generally addresses the fiction of a united audience. The theme of union central to the life drive is relevant, then, to Defoe's texts and at the level of political symbolism. Such writing also constructs a range of enemies inside and outside the nation. Having discussed Freud's theory of identity, and treating intertextuality as a form of multiple identification, I explore how his rhetoric switches between oppositions such as friend and enemy, or master and slave. If Defoe, then, opposed absolutist authority whilst supporting hierarchical values, his conflicting views suggest fantasies symptomatic of his struggle for sovereignty of the written sign.

Defoe's conscious and unconscious ironies employ negation. The deferrals which result can be traced to the death drive's sadomasochism. Thus, despite its partial focus on war, *An Essay Upon Projects* reflected death's deconstruction of the absolute mastery which he often asserted was the aim of both individuals and political groups. Defoe's provocative stances on Occasional Conformity enact a sadomasochistic logic, as does *The Consolidator*'s beating fantasy. If his rhetoric at times finds patterns of death and expulsion in the body politic, *The Shortest Way* used denial to show the reversal of violence at the law's origins.

Finally, having examined *Caledonia*'s violent divisions, the thesis goes beyond 1707 to examine the figures of marriage and death that surround Defoe's changing attitude to Scotland.

Word Count: 93, 890

Contents

Abbreviations

Boulton	*Daniel Defoe*, ed. by James T. Boulton (Batsford, 1965)
CEW	*The Earlier Life and Chief Earlier Works of Daniel Defoe*, ed. by Henry Morley, The Carisbrooke Library, Vol. III (London and New York: George Routledge and Sons, 1889)
DA	P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens, *Defoe De-Attributions: A Critique of J. R. Moore's Checklist* (London and the Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1994)
Heidenreich	*The Libraries of Daniel Defoe and Phillips Farewell: Olive Payne's Sales Catalogue*, ed. by Helmut Heidenreich (Berlin: Hildebrand, 1970)
LDH	*The Letters of Daniel Defoe*, ed. by George Harris Healey (Clarendon: Oxford, 1955)
Life	Paula R. Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe: His Life* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989)
LP	J. Laplanche and J.-B. Pontalis, *The Language of Psychoanalysis*, intro. by Daniel Lagache, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Karnac Books and the Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1988)

OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*, prep. by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 2nd edn (Clarendon Press: Oxford,1989)
Review	Daniel Defoe, *The Review: 1704-1713*, ed. by A. W. Secord, 22 Vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938)
SE	Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*, ed. by James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1953-1974)
SV	*A Second Volume of the Writings of the Author of the True-Born Englishman. Some Whereof never before printed* (London, 1705)
TC	*A True Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True Born English-man* (London, 1703)
UBN	Unpublished bibliographical notes of W. P. Trent, copies kindly made available by P. N. Furbank

Journal forms from *Periodical Title Abbreviations: By Abbreviation*, Vol. 1, ed. by Leland G. Alkire Jr., 9th edn (Detroit, Washington D. C., London: Gale Research Inc., 1994)

AN&Q	*American Notes and Queries*
BIHR	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*
BJECS	*British Journal of Eighteenth Century Studies*
CHJ	*Cambridge History Journal*
Crit I	*Critical Inquiry*
EcHR	*Economic History Review*
ECL	*Eighteenth Century Life*
ECS	*Eighteenth Century Studies*
EHR	*English Historical Review*

Enl E	*Enlightenment Essays*
Fem R	*Feminist Review*
H	*History*
HJ	*Historical Journal*
HLQ	*Huntington Library Quarterly*
HOPE	*History of Political Economy*
IJPsa	*International Journal of Psychoanalysis*
JBS	*Journal of British Studies*
Jnl Mod Hist	*Journal of Modern History*
L&H	*Literature and History*
Lit & Psy	*Literature and Psychology*
MLN	*Modern Language Notes*
MLQ	*Modern Language Quarterly*
MP	*Modern Philology*
NLH	*New Literary History*
N&Q	*Notes and Queries*
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Languages Association*
PS	*Prose Studies*
RSQ	*Rhetoric Society Quarterly*
RES	*Review of English Studies*
SB	*Studies in Bibliography*
SECC	*Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*
SEL	*Studies in English Literature*
SHR	*Scottish Historical Review*
SLR	*Stanford Literature Review*
Tulane St	*Tulane Studies in English*
ZAA	*Zeitschrift fur Anglistik und Amerikanistik*

Acknowledgements

I am grateful for a *British Academy* post-graduate studentship during 1991-94, and for the commentary and guidance of David Nokes, my supervisor. Others at King's and elsewhere have provided support and encouragement. Many thanks to Nick Furbank, for the warning finger on attribution matters, friendship, and frequent assistance, also to Bob Owens; for answering queries, Michael Treadwell, Robin Alston, and Frances Harris. Staff at the British Library, the London Library, the National Library of Scotland, and Senate House made a difference. The meticulous care and sound advice of my examiners, Ian A. Bell and J. A. Downie, added considerably to the text in its closing stages.

Special prizes to Johnny, and Ladé 'printer' Smith, Jo, Dom, Gabe, Lucy, Suzanne, Sarah J, Neil B, LL, Austin, Zaza, Max and Phil, BH, GM, HW, and a big thank you to Rachel B for the first draft. Lastly, much love and appreciation to my family, for everything.

> . . . rhetoric (aside from the taboo which weighs upon language), a veritable empire in its dimensions and its duration, flouts the very concepts of science and historical reflection, to the point of calling into question history itself, at least as we are accustomed to imagine and employ history, and of compelling us to conceive what we might elsewhere have called a *monumental history*; the scientific scorn attached to rhetoric would then participate in this general refusal to recognize multiplicity, overdetermination.
>
> — Roland Barthes [1]

[1] Roland Barthes, 'The Old Rhetoric: an aide-mémoire', in *The Semiotic Challenge*, trans. by Richard Howard (Oxford UK & Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 1988), pp. 11-93, (p. 15).

Introduction

Psychoanalysis has been drawn on for some time by those engaged with Daniel Defoe's late fictions. Post-Freudianism thus now supports perspectives on *Robinson Crusoe* that are more culturally responsive than some 1970s approaches, which at times erased textual ambiguity by superimposing orthodox models [1]. This sort of theorizing is often associated with imaginative or fictional material, and though my last two Chapters concern a long prose fiction and a poem respectively, most of the texts discussed in this study do not, strictly speaking, meet such criteria. Psychoanalysis has, however, proved useful to other studies of Defoe's non-fiction [2]. Further, whilst such theory challenges any clear division between imagined reality and solid fact, the meaning given by propagandists to what may or may not be actual events is itself a fictionalizing act with unifying textual and social implications that Chapter 1 discusses in more detail.

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[1] See Geofrey M. Sill, 'Crusoe in the Cave: Defoe and the Semiotics of Desire', *ECF*, 6:3 (1994), 215-32; and see, for example, Homer O. Brown, 'The Displaced Self in the Novels of Daniel Defoe', *ELH*, 38 (1971), 562-90; Curt Hartog, 'Authority and Autonomy in *Robinson Crusoe*', *Enl E*, 5: 2 (1974), 33-43.

[2] See Carol Houlihan Flynn, 'Defoe's idea of conduct: ideological fictions and fictional reality', in *The Ideology of Conduct: Essays on Literature and the History of Sexuality*, ed. by Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse Essays in Literature and Society (New York and London: Methuen, 1987), pp. 73-95.

A psychoanalytic approach also has relevance for exploring the political rhetoric of an author who liked to present himself as a champion of plain speaking, but whose contemporaries often reflected on the complexity and indirectness of his polemical methods. In 1703, for example, one opponent suggested that a reader of Defoe might "in his Paper Labarynth ... find, / A Clue to guide thee through his *Crooked Mind.* / *Deeds* that have been behind the Curtain done, / And *Libels* that he thinks not fit to own" [3]. Thus, whilst *Defoe's political rhetoric, 1697-1707* traces issues of language and power from Mr. Review's self-identification with one particular rhetorician, Chapter 1 will outline a theoretical model which responds both to a contradictory author, and aims to explain this sense of his texts as resembling deeds done behind the curtain of consciousness.

By the same measure, Defoe's desire not to be identified as the author of particular tracts might be read as both the result of pragmatic or strategic decisions, and as illustrating the process, fully considered later, that Sigmund Freud called negation. To take such a double position to material which is, even by academic standards, little read today, assumes that there is something important to be gained by combining these two very separate fields. Certainly, I would argue that the Lacanian model outlined in Chapter 1 elucidates and expands our sense of what might at first seem like purely rhetorical or historical issues. To offer one instance here, negation, which describes the means by which unconscious thought is brought out from repression at an intellectual level but denied at an emotional level, and which Freud tied to the death drive, has been seen as central to any understanding of irony. Thus Chapter 1 will also consider how Defoe's in some senses unstable relationship with ironic communication can be linked to what one post-Freudian reader has seen as its sado-masochistic structure. A number of the later Chapters, then, note such patterns in Defoe's contradictory rhetoric when examining his seemingly unironic but aggressive views.

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[3] *The True-Born-Hugonot: Or, Daniel de Foe. A Satyr. By a True-Born-Englishman* (1077.k.30, pp. 3-25, 4°, 1703), p. 10.

The previous paragraph alluded to the death drive, a central but much disputed psychoanalytic concept, first properly introduced by Freud in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle.* This aggressive drive, inseparable from the life drive which seeks to unify and bind psychic energy, was central to a theory of how emotions arising from unpleasant events may be mastered by symbolic repetition. Although more specific instances will be produced later in this introduction, anyone familiar with Defoe's output in this period cannot help but be generally struck both by its fierce energy and by the high level of repetition. The combination of repetitious subject matter and views with a political theory that proposed a notion of absolute power which contained its own undoing so closely resembles Freud's own paradoxical reading of the death drive that such a concept seemed the most relevant way to start thinking through the often aggressive energies in his political rhetoric.

Such strategies, then, have provided new perspectives on his rhetoric, but this study's most basic aim is to evaluate the imaginative and fictionalizing patterns which repeat themselves from text to text in the far less familiar period of Defoe's early writing career, and to assert that such material, whilst very different from the famous fictions, nevertheless contains considerable psychological interest and complexity which needs and correspondingly repays theorization [4]. For, viewing communication as operating on both conscious and unconscious levels, psychoanalysis would clearly question the idea that any text can be fully understood in *purely* rhetorical terms, just as it would suggest that communication tends to produce not fixed truths but truth claims. These claims will display symptoms that can be at once individual, but which may also be shared by groups and, importantly, are always coloured by their historical context.

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[4] Frank Bastian, *Defoe's Early Life* (Houndmills and London: Macmillan, 1981) ends in 1703. For his part, William Roosen, *Daniel Defoe and Diplomacy* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1986) omits Defoe's role in the 1707 Union of England and Scotland.

If this period remains, then, virtually untouched by theoretical approaches, it would be impossible to construct a study of this sort without also deploying more traditional scholarly procedures, and there are points where more familiar textual explication will predominate. Nevertheless, the theoretical issues introduced here and later discussed at length can be seen to inform both the selected material and my underlying conclusions. There are, though, naturally still a number of dangers connected with such an approach. As my initial quotation from *The True-Born-Hugonot* may already have suggested, the idea that a paper labyrinth provides an infallible way to reach the mind of the author must be refuted at the outset. This is not a study of Defoe himself, then, but a psychoanalytic approach to his rhetoric.

Yet, even though Manuel Schonhorn has shown some of the ways in which it is inadvisable to treat Defoe, as J. R. Moore did, like an archetypal citizen of the modern world or everyman figure, there remains a similar danger here, since anyone invoking psychoanalysis, a discourse so often castigated for its ahistorical and generalizing tendencies, runs the risk of merely locating universal patterns in texts and ignoring their individuality [5]. Before, then, explaining why a theoretical model based on Freud's opposition between the life and death drives has relevance for evaluating Defoe's texts, and particularly this period of his writing, I want to discuss why psychoanalysis is here introduced into rhetorical issues.

Roland Barthes once described the formal dispute between two speakers or writers as a process in which each tries to succeed by showing how the other is in contradiction with him or herself, "it sufficed to force an adversary to contradict himself to reduce him, eliminate him, cancel him out" [6]. Whilst this oppositional method is very much a part of

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[5] See J. R. Moore, *Daniel Defoe: Citizen of the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958); and Manuel Schonhorn, *Defoe's Politics: Parliament, Power, Kingship, and Robinson Crusoe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[6] Barthes, 'The Old Rhetoric', p. 41.

the political and religious debates in which Defoe was involved, the goal of eliminating one's opponent noted by Barthes is immediately recognisable as an externalized symptom of the death drive. This theoretical paradigm is, then, applicable to many, if not all, polemicists. Yet such an admission merely shows the basis of such a concept's potential value to the majority of the prose discourses Defoe produced in this period. The introduction's next stage links the above description of public dispute with a certain psychical model.

Jacques Lacan, as Chapter 1 details, proposed a narrative of intrapsychic conflict. The split ego, which he described in visual terms as like that of a viewer and his reflected double, and in hierarchical terms as having the structure of a relationship between master and slave, is however always locked into a contest with the reflected other or absolute master, his Hegelian name for death. In other words, then, the aim of verbal contestation can be seen as projecting the private split identity, just as disagreement with others can be traced back to patterns of internal opposition inescapably produced during the formative experiences. This thesis does not discuss *The Apparition of Mrs Veal* since it falls outside what is traditionally categorized as political rhetoric, yet its combination of death and double identities, or what Lacan also called counterparts, could provide a very suggestive example of his theoretical position's relevance to any revision of Defoe's output in this period. Having, then, suggested some general reasons for my approach to rhetoric, and having made a link between two disciplines which asserts an analogy between external and internal contestatory processes, this seems the time to explain my further reasons for treating Defoe's work from the period ending in 1707 in terms of the life and death drives.

The death drive found forceful expression in the continental wars which involved England almost without pause from soon after William and Mary were crowned to the end of Anne's reign. Though many writers supported such practices, Defoe's description of the "Art of

War" as "the highest Perfection of Human Knowledge", was nevertheless a strongly held individual view [7]. In isolation, such comments may not be enough to place the death drive at the centre of his rhetorical *inventio*, yet a more idiosyncratic symptom can be located in his response to imprisonment. For, in his letter to Nottingham discussed in Chapter 1, Defoe offered to put his own life at risk when his position in no sense required it, to introduce death in other words to legitimate his own status and desire. This is precisely the wagering response to the absolute master described in Lacan's psychic model. Further, the lines of poetry Defoe appended to *The History of the Kentish Petition*, which describe a maxim about the striving for absolute power cancelled by a lack of power, and which he often repeated elsewhere, locate the intertwined and paradoxical striving between the life and death drives discussed by Freud. Further, the death drive is itself a paradoxical formation, at once the source of externalizable aggression and thus tension, and at the same time a desire to achieve the tensionless inertia located by psychoanalyis at the core of human identity.

Aside from noting the rhetoric of violence so often present in the range of his texts from this period, I want to close this introduction by offering two further examples of how the death drive cannot be separated from his life affirming projects. Beginning in 1697, Defoe's highly complex set of approaches to Occasional Conformity may have been motivated by a desire to defend the dissenting community from aggressive legislation and other forms of socio-political violence. Yet he directed his punitive casuistry at those Dissenters who did not share his own sometimes flexible views and, at the same time, attacked the community's High Church enemies. Lastly, whilst the 1707 Union of England and Scotland can be seen as the most significant political symptom of the life drive to occur during Defoe's lifetime, and with which he was closely associated, his rhetoric in *Caledonia* and later prose tracts utilized images of death for the purposes of subtle intimidation, justification, and

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[7] Defoe, 'Introduction', *An Essay Upon Projects* (1029.b. 24, pp. i-xiv, 336, 8°, 1697), pp. 2-3. Henceforth *EP*.

legitimation of a problematic relationship. The model of aggressivity proposed in the following Chapter is, then, in my view, perhaps the most effective way of analysing the complexity of writing that, for the most part, would not be accepted as literary or thought complex enough to merit such attention. By challenging such opinions, this study aims to extend academic understanding of the value and significance of some of Defoe's lesser known works.

1. *Psychoanalysis and Defoe*

Demosthenes was just in my Case, *saving the Arrogance of the Comparison* ... [1]

Psychoanalysis has, then, so far had little influence on critical approaches to the early period of Defoe's writing career. Beginning seriously with the *Essay Upon Projects* of January, 1697, his output also altered in 1707, since after *Caledonia*'s London publication it was no longer divided between verse and the prose forms evaluated here [2]. Defoe's poetic projection of England and Scotland's Union, a process that psychoanalysis would link to the life drive, thus also marked that literary form's effective cancellation, or what could be interpreted as poetry's expulsion from his symbolic realm. If that event seems somehow paradoxical, my study of this formally unique period's narrative and theoretical significance will pay close attention to the textual intertwining of the life and death drives theorized by Sigmund Freud in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. In conclusion, I read this apparent paradox in a way that may suggest further ways of theorizing Defoe.

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[1] Epigraph: Daniel Defoe, *Review*, 35, July 4, 1704, Vol. I, p. 154.

[2] Though the majority of these prose texts receive little attention, his verse is starting to tell another story; see, most recently, D. N. DeLuna, 'Discovering Defoe's Satire' (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, The Johns Hopkins University, 1993), and Paula Backscheider, 'Poetry', in *Daniel Defoe: Ambition and Innovation* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986), pp. 12-41, for practical reasons why Defoe might have ceased publishing verse after 1707.

Whilst the 1697 *Essay*'s description of the "Art of War" as "the highest Perfection of Human Knowledge", may not alone be enough to put the death drive at the centre of Defoe's rhetorical *inventio*, *An Appeal to Honour and Justice*'s 1715 claim that "No Man in this Nation ever had a more riveted Aversion to the *Pretender*, and to all the Family he pretended to come of, *than I*: A man that had been in Arms under the Duke of *Monmouth*, against the Cruelty and Arbitrary Government of his pretended Father", begins to define the issues behind *Defoe's Political Rhetoric* [3]. To George Chalmers, such words showed "a man who would fight as well as write for his principles", thus linking language and action, or language *as* action [4]. Yet exaggeration, false emphases, and illegitimacy's double relevance also highlight a certain confusion. Though, for example, referring to James II and his son, Defoe's convoluted sentence also suggests Charles II as the 'pretended father' against whom Monmouth had earlier revolted, whilst the latter's claim of legitimacy puts him in the "Family" Defoe opposed with an "all" that might equally include Anne.

Befoe pursuing this confusion, I want briefly to link the issue of language as action and a form of symbolic power to rhetoric's identificatory process, for a comparison with Demosthenes, whom Sir Francis Bacon put above his imaginary counterpart, Cicero, shows Defoe's awareness of its relevance. Whilst the Republican Andrew Fletcher was deemed the Country Party's new 'Cicero', Justin Champion has written that others shared this "desire to identify", or be identified, with John Toland's favourite author. Further, notes Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, Cicero's *Fourth Philippic* called his enemy Marc Antony a "homeless" transgressor [5]. The Roman had, then, special ideological weight when William, a warrior

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[3] Defoe, 'Introduction', *EP*, pp. 2-3; Defoe, *An Appeal to Honour and Justice, Tho' it be of his Worst Enemies. By Daniel De Foe. Being a True Account of his Conduct in Publick Affairs*, repr. in *Boulton*, pp. 166-95, (p. 180).

[4] George Chalmers, *The Life of Daniel Defoe* (John Stockdale, 1790), pp. 7-8.

[5] J. A. I. Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and its Enemies, 1660-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 170-90, (p. 184); Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, 'Rhetoric and Its Double: Reflections on the Rhetorical Turn in the Human Sciences' in *The Rhetorical Turn*, ed. Simons, pp. 341-66, (pp. 342-3).

who wasn't at home, ruled England. Marking himself out in opposition to Cicero's supporters, Defoe's choice of rhetorician had further implications. For example, Bacon's 'Of Boldnesse' began with "a triviall Grammar Schoole" analogy, Demosthenes' threefold insistence that "*the Chiefe Part of an Oratour*" was "*Action*", though he "had by nature, himselfe, no Advantage," in saying so.

> A strange thing, that that Part of an Oratour, which is but superficiall, and rather the vertue of a Player; should be placed so high, above those other Noble Parts, of *Invention*, Elocution, and the rest: Nay almost alone, as if it were All in All. But the Reason is plaine. There is in Humane Nature, generally, more of the Foole, then of the Wise; And therefore those faculties, by which the Foolish part of Mens Mindes is taken, are most potent. [6]

"*Action*" here replaced "Pronunciation" in the best known "Grammar Schoole" discussion, *Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique*, which reflected that, whilst "arte without utterance can doe nothing, utterance without art can doe right much" [7]. Whilst, then, *The Review*'s specific link between the orator and war directs this theoretical approach, it should be noted how the contestatory logic of Defoe's self-identification tests a reader's memory and, in the process, admits the metaphoric exchange of action and speech, dual systems governed by boldness.

With these points in mind, I return to the issue raised by Defoe's *Appeal*. For, if Freud sited the continuity of experience in the unconscious, the gaps already noted may mark its "voice" as a point of resistance which, making "conscious discourse ambiguous", finally threatens to produce nonsense, or non-meaning [8]. This view stems from Lacan's thesis of the forced choice or *vel* (Latin: 'either ... or'), which operates in what Gilbert Chaitin calls

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[6] Sir Francis Bacon, 'Of Boldnesse', in *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, ed. intro. and comment. by Micheal Kiernan (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 37-8, (p. 37).

[7] Thomas Wilson, *Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique*, Tudor and Stuart Library, facsimile repr. ed by G. H. Mair (Oxford: Clarendon, 1909), p. 218.

[8] Elizabeth Grosz, *Jacques Lacan: A Feminist Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 114.

social signification's "interplay of subject and meaning (attributes) in the functioning of language as predication: either he chooses being, thus losing out on meaning entirely, or he chooses the meaning imposed on him, and thereby forfeits that meaning-less aspect of signification which constitutes the unconscious" [9].

Further, the *Appeal* passage suggests what Frank Stringfellow Jr., disputing Freud's view that irony "can be understood without any need for bringing in the unconscious", calls *unconscious* irony, a category meaningless in purely rhetorical terms [10]. For Stringfellow, the ironist always pays, and the "self-attack" that is irony's "recurrent feature ... is intimately associated with the attack on someone else [...]. You—the ironist says—do not need to punish me for my words because I have already punished myself. Or alternatively, I am allowed to lash out at you because I am doing the same thing to myself" [11]. Defoe called writing on trade his "Whore". If, when ceasing to do so in the *Review*, he commented that, "like the Israelites, that put away strange Wives, I have resolv'd to part with her, and so I escape the lash of my own Satyr", Lacan's conceptual revisions will be found to give irony's sado-masochism further meaning [12]. For the Freudian *cogito*'s synthesizing ego gave way to a split ego of the *desidero*, its "distribution heterotopic in terms of levels and erratic at each level" of "psychical reality", and its "only homogeneous function" being the ego's "imaginary capture ... by its specular reflection and the function of misrecognition [*méconnaissance*] which remains linked to it" [13].

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[9] Gilbert D. Chaitin, *Rhetoric and Culture in Lacan*, Literature, Culture, Theory, ed. by Richard Macksey and Michael Sprinker: Vol. 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 183.

[10] Freud cited by Frank Stringfellow, Jr., *The Meaning of Irony: A Psychoanalytic Investigation*, SUNY Series: The Margins of Literature, ed. by Mihai I. Spariosu (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), p. 1.

[11] Stringfellow, *The Meaning of Irony*, pp. 24-5, who also connects irony with negation, see p. 23.

[12] Defoe cited by William Lytton Payne, *Mr. Review: Daniel Defoe as Author of the Review* (Morningside Heights, New York: King's Crown Press, 1947), p. 3.

[13] Jacques Lacan, 'Position of the Unconscious, remarks made at the 1960 Bonneval colloquium rewritten in 1964', trans. by Bruce Fink, in *Reading Seminar XI: Lacan's Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*, ed. by Richard Feldstein, Bruce Fink, Marie Jaanus, SUNY Series in Psychoanalysis and Culture, ed. by Henry Sussman (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), pp. 259-82, (p. 261).

Earlier, Lacan had stipulated "the mechanism of paranoiac alienation of the ego as one of the preconditions of human knowledge". Discussing the concepts of identification, negation, and the death drive, that have proved productive for reading Defoe, he warned "that the word 'aggressiveness' convey[ed] ... more than capacity for aggression", and argued that these potential "contraries" were rather "more complementary than mutually inclusive terms", suggesting that "the aggress-iveness involved in the ego's fundamental relationship to other people" was "based upon the intra-psychic tension we sense in the warning of the ascetic that 'a blow at your enemy is a blow at yourself'." This, Lacan asserted, was "true in all the forms of that process of negation whose hidden mechanism Freud analysed".

> ... The libidinal tension that shackles the subject to the constant pursuit of an illusory unity which is always luring him away from himself, is surely related to that agony of dereliction which is Man's particular and tragic destiny. Here we see how Freud was led to his deviant concept of the death instinct. [14]

Since many of Freud's followers had, for other reasons, already made similar judgements, Lacan wittily described as 'deviant' the concept which underpinned his own approach to human identity. Seeking unconscious "syntactical laws", *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) had depicted "the dream-content as a rebus" [15]. Lacan, however, took Freud's later statement, that any "presentation which is not put into words, or a psychical act which is not hypercathected, remains thereafter in the *Ucs.* in a state of repression", to mean that such "memories and ideas ... must, at the time events took place, have existed in a form in which there was at least the possibility of its being verbalized", and so continued to affirm

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[14] Lacan, 'Some Reflections on the Ego', *IJPsa*, XXXIV:1 (1953), 11-17, (p. 16).

[15] Rosalind Coward and John Ellis, *Language and Materialism: Developments in Semiology and the Theory of the Subject* (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), pp. 98-9.

that language has "a sort of retrospective effect in determining what is ultimately decided to be real" [16].

Though the next section examines the subject at length, Lacan's position can here be contrasted with an earlier approach to identification's rhetorical connotations to show its greater relevance to the patterns in question. For, if Kenneth Burke asserted that the separateness of individuality produced the "need ... to proclaim" an idealized "unity"—as Defoe often did after Anne's late 1703 request for peace and union—and that rhetoric's "characteristic invitation" came from "ambiguously" blurring the line between "compensatory identification" and division, its "ironic counterpart", the former phrase itself resurfaces in Ellie Ragland-Sullivan's comments on the mirror stage. Lacan marked "pre-mirror stage experience as the source of the common fantasy or dream of a fragmented body". The "compensatory identification with whole forms" that follows is, however, "assymetrical, fictional, and artificial", because externally imposed [17].

Burke, then, posits an external world and 'social relations'. In contrast, the Lacanian psychical model proposes an "illusion of unity, in which a human being is always looking forward to self-mastery," that "entails a constant danger of sliding back again into the chaos from which he started; it hangs over the abyss of a dizzy Assent in which one can perhaps see the very essence of Anxiety" [18]. Such an identification is never compensatory in Burke's static sense, for Lacanian subjects "will forever after anticipate their own images in the images of others" [19]. Thus, whilst Freud's concept of the cure was founded on the speaking

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[16] Sigmund Freud, 'The Unconscious', (1915), rev. trans. by C. M. Baines (*SE* 14, 1957), pp. 161-204, (p. 202); Lacan, 'Some Reflections', p. 11.

[17] Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 22-5; Ellie Ragland-Sullivan, *Jacques Lacan and the Philosophy of Psychoanalysis* (London and Canberra: Croom Helm, 1986), p. 26.

[18] Lacan, 'Some Reflections on the Ego', *IJPsa*, XXXIV:1 (1953), 11-17, (p. 15).

[19] Ragland-Sullivan, *Lacan and the Philosophy*, p. 25.

voice, Lacan stressed language's retrospective and always overdetermining force to counterpoise his essentially projective view of identity formation. And if Demosthenes offered a direct case of what has been called "not simply one psychical operation among others, but the operation itself whereby the human subject is constituted", identification performs various functions at many levels of Defoe's rhetoric [20].

For example, the Old Testament dream interpreter Daniel oversees *Jure Divino*'s largest footnote, which turns one of the first edition's pages entirely into prose. Locating a double presence where the poetic narrative breaks, it inserts a new interpretation of the author's place in the Occasional Conformity debate. Erasing the 'higher' text with a textual supplement marks a space which, comments Peter Cosgrove, "could hardly be further in conception from the ideal of authorial voice". Using intertextuality, itself a form of multiple identification, throughout this poem and *Caledonia*, Defoe "the interested pleader ... of a specific idea" doubles "as the objective gatherer and presenter of evidence." Whilst the footnote's "internal structure" may, then, provide the "culminating aporia", his other intertextual practices also present that "structural contestation" which shows "the illusion" of a unified text [21]. Further, Daniel's experience in the "Den of Lyons" both sums up, and questions, the poem's argument, that kings are not above the law. Defoe, then, noting earlier that "the King had no dispensing Power", comments that the tale describes "an Original Monarch, whose sacred absolute Power and Dominion could not save a Favourite from the Force of the Law, tho' falsely accused. Here is the due Sovereignty of the Law so acknowledg'd and so recognised, as no Prince in Europe could stoop to." Yet Daniel, the

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[20] **Identification,** *LP*, pp. 205-8, (p. 206).

[21] Peter W. Cosgrove, 'Undermining the Text: Edward Gibbon, Alexander Pope, and the Anti-Authenticating Footnote', in *Annotation and Its Texts*, ed. by Stephen A. Barney (New York Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 130-151, (pp. 147-51).

confidential adviser who "had not regarded the Law", was protected all along by a direct relationship with God that is erased from the narrative [22].

If these identifications make sense to Defoe's venture when law is seen as "a rhetorical activity in the sense that it is constitutive as well as persuasive", a conception that can be opposed to the "anti-rhetorical ... Judaeo-Christian tradition of law as authority rather than persuasion", rhetoric and analysis can't, of course, be ellided in any simplistic analogy [23]. Yet Lacan never ceased to illustrate the mind's slipperiness with language and irrationality, or the working through of apparently illogical emotions, may thus still be what Joachim Dyck calls the "main moving principle" when tracing what these disciplines share. For, without either "a notion of transfer" or a comparable position on the unconscious, yet knowing that words can realize "something in the past of the mind", rhetoric makes "fantasies come alive" [24].

Admittedly, if analysts aim to show how "results" occur, a rhetorician who wants to naturalize "technical devices" will not [25]. At the same time, as "an arena for simulation where ... every predicate is preceded by an "as if"", Tullio Maranhão notes that the psychoanalytic subject opposes any "natural system of causes and effects" [26]. Propaganda's rhetorical fictions do, then, finally connect with the 'as if' analytic subject, just as the paradigms of disguise and revelation, or resistance and bringing to consciousness, variously uniting and dividing these fields, are also relevant to an author who often, John Richetti

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[22] Defoe, *Jure Divino. A Satyr. In Twelve Books. By the Author of the True-Born Englishman* (G. 560. each book sep. pag., fol., 1706), Bk VIII, pp. 8-10. Henceforth *JD*. Note that the identification between Daniel and Defoe is strengthened by the connection made with William in the last six lines of Bk I.

[23] Victoria Kahn, 'Rhetoric and the Law', *diacritics*, 19:2 (1989), 21-34, (pp. 25-6). On Old Testament rhetoric, see Schonhorn, *Defoe's Politics*.

[24] Joachim Dyck, 'Rhetoric and Psychoanalysis', *RSQ*, 19:2 (1989), 95-104, (pp. 99-103).

[25] Dyck, 'Rhetoric and Psychoanalysis', p. 101.

[26] Tullio Maranhão, 'Psychoanalysis: Science or Rhetoric?', in *The Rhetorical Turn: Invention and Persuasion in the Conduct of Inquiry*, ed. by Herbert W. Simons (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 116-44, (p. 139).

writes, addressed readers "as if he were a schoolmaster or a preacher", and to the early enlightenment rationalism in which he operates [27]. Further, the seventeenth century criticized metaphor's "passion and irrationality", equating rhetoric with the "sexual seduction of male reason" [28].

Linking deception and desire, John Locke's famous aside—"'tis in vain to find fault with those Arts of Deceiving, wherein Men find pleasure to be deceived"—thus still skirted patriarchy's central contradiction. For male rhetoric often aimed to present itself as 'plain' and 'natural', whilst subordinating woman as a personification of that nature. Both desireable and displaced, at the origins of consciousness and its mental "monstrosities", woman was indeed a troubling power in the Lockean male mind that William Walker calls a "space of socio-erotic activity" [29]. If Locke placed "the Foolish Maid" at the "the foundation" of the world's worst errors, "the association of ideas", even the uneducated woman, whose common sense he praised, might insert equally erroneous beliefs into a (male) child's mind [30].

Finally, though the plain style with which Defoe is often identified cannot be "tied necessarily to a view that language reflects mirror-like an already-existing, non-linguistic external reality", nevertheless writing 'speech' foregrounds a metaphoric procedure [31]. In 1704 Mr. Review protested:

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[27] John J. Richetti, *Daniel Defoe*, Twayne's English Authors Series; 453 (Boston: Twayne, 1987), p. 21.

[28] Michael Srigley, 'The Lascivious Metaphor: The Evolution of the Plain Style in the Seventeenth Century', *Studia Neophilologica*, 60 (1988), 179-92, (p. 182).

[29] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. by Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), Bk III. Ch. x. 34. p. 508; William Walker, 'Locke Minding Women: Literary History, Gender, and the *Essay*', *ECS*, 23:3 (1990), 245-68, (pp. 247-8).

[30] Walker, 'Locke Minding Women', pp. 258-9; final Locke quotation cited from p. 251.

[31] Michael Scrivener and Louis Finkelman, 'The Politics of Obscurity: The Plain Style and its Detractors', *Philosophy and Literature*, 18 (1994), 18-37, (p. 27), who name Defoe on p. 18.

> If these things require Similies and Allusions, to explain them to the People; if a dark Way of ambiguous doubtful speaking, will open the Poor People's Eyes, *I am not your Man*, Gentlemen, you must turn another way—When this Paper ceases to speak plain English, and apply it Home to the very Persons, you may conclude this Author has laid it down. [32]

If the "art of speech was originally linked to a claim of ownership", Roland Barthes implies that it also marks a desire to "defend our own" person, against the subtleties of "ideological mediation" [33]. Within the internalized economy of defence and attack that is the pleasure and unpleasure of irony, Defoe's awareness that a rhetor needs rectitude led him to assert his innocence as a lack of figure, and so naturalize the artificial. Thus, whilst remarks about amorality, self-righteousness, or 'writing on both sides', repeat basic criticisms of rhetoric, his characteristic negation of ambiguity, resembling Freud's own "rhetoric disclaiming rhetorical intention", is now further considered beside identification and the death drive [34].

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[32] Defoe cited by Payne, 'Mr Review: Author', in *Mr. Review*, pp. 19-40, (p. 29).

[33] Roland Barthes, 'The Old Rhetoric', p. 17.

[34] Stanley Fish, 'Withholding the Missing Portion: Psychoanalysis and Rhetoric', in *The Trial(s) of Psychoanalysis*, ed. by Françoise Meltzer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 183-209, (p. 206); see P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens, *The Canonisation of Daniel Defoe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), who criticize the 'writer on both sides' tradition.

Identification, negation, the death drive

Two views of the unconscious have already been distinguished to give more weight to Lacan's reading of it as a place of non-meaning. Before looking at how Freud's construction of a theory of identification at times impinged on his views on sadism and suicide as the fullest expression of what he would later come to call the death drive, I want to note in passing Foucault's view that "genocide is indeed the dream of modern powers ... because power is exercised at the level of life, the species, the race", since it suggests how a theory of individual and group identification is relevant to implicitly violent and transindividual discourses of nation [35]. For, if the anonymity which Defoe and other polemicists frequently used defers and displaces individual identity, stressing instead a collective discourse or sociolect, assumed names or false identifications mask that sense of not feeling "at home" that Freud recorded when faced with the concept of the people's voice. This he equated with the "content of the unconscious" which, he wrote, was "in principle the [*überhaupt*] collective, general possession of humanity" [36].

Freud's situation of primary identification in the earliest, and thus "undifferentiated and objectless", period of development is famously problematic. Whilst this "tie", as Jean Laplanche and Jean-Baptiste Pontalis note, is mainly described "as the first relationship to the *mother*", Freud's "rare" use of the term always related to the father, what he called "a direct and immediate identification" in the individual's "own personal prehistory" [37]. This theory, nevertheless, foregrounds from the outset the question of gender in the subject's constitution in ways that may be relevant to the earlier comments on rhetoric and the plain style. After linking one form of secondary identification with Dora's hysteria, and thus with

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35 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans. by Robert Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), p. 137.

36 Freud cited by Rainer Nägele, *Reading After Freud: Essays on Goethe, Holderlin, Habermas, Nietzsche, Brecht, Celan, and Freud* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), pp. 189-99.

37 Freud cited in **Primary Identification**, *LP*, pp. 336-7, (p. 336).

phantasy, Freud noted that, though hysterical "self-injury" might happen "more frequently" with men, "*multiple identification*" analogous to dream "*condensation*", with dream-work correspondences such as "*antagonistic inversion*" and "*reversal of the chronological order*", could obscure the meaning of such attacks [38]. Continuing to see his thesis on "contrary meaning" and "constantly switching ... associations" in sexual terms, Freud cited a woman who "plays both parts in" an "underlying sexual phantasy" to show the presence of "counterparts ... in certain hysterical attacks" [39].

If Demosthenes is a recognizable projection of the ego-ideal first introduced in 1914 as a "substitute" for lost childhood narcissism, only in his 1921 'Group Psychology', did Freud come to view it as central to an individual's role as "a component of numerous groups" [40]. Finally, in his 'New Introductory Lectures', Freud repeated his distinction between the encompassing super-ego and an ego-ideal which was, in the words of Laplanche and Pontalis, "loved rather than dreaded" by the ego [41]. Before that, however, discussing ambivalence in affective relations, Freud had argued that the "melancholic's erotic cathexis in regard to his [lost] object" undergoes "a double vicissitude: part of it has regressed to identification, but the other part, under the influence of the conflict due to ambivalence, has been carried back to the stage of sadism which is nearer to the conflict." If it was "sadism alone that solves the riddle" of the melancholiac's "tendency to suicide", seeing that narrative as one of self-objectification and the reversal of hostile impulses, Freud concluded that, "in regression from narcissistic object-choice the object has, it is true, been got rid of,

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38 Freud, 'Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria (Dora)' (1905 [1901]), trans. by A. and J. Strachey, *Penguin Freud Library*, Vol. 8, ed. by Angela Richards (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), pp. 29-164, (p. 148); Freud, 'Some General Remarks on Hysterical Attacks', (1909 [1908]), trans. by D. Bryan (*SE* 9, 1959), pp. 227-34, (pp. 230-3).

39 Freud, 'Hysterical Fantasies and their Relation to Bisexuality' (1908), trans. by D. Bryan (*SE* 9, 1959), pp. 155-66, (pp. 165-6).

40 Freud, 'On Narcissism: An Introduction' (1914), trans. by C. M. Baines (*SE* 14, 1957), pp. 67-104, (p. 94); Freud, 'Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego' (1921), trans. by J. Strachey (*SE* 18, 1955), pp. 67-143, (p. 129).

41 Freud, 'Group Psychology', p. 129; see **Ego-Ideal**, *LP*, pp. 144-5, (p. 145).

but it has nevertheless proved more powerful than the ego itself. In the two opposed situations of being most intensely in love and of suicide the ego is overwhelmed by the object, though in totally different ways" [42].

Arguing that the uniting of parental identifications symbolized the "irresistible advance towards a unification of mental life", 'Group Psychology' also asserted that "social feeling is based upon the reversal of what was first a hostile feeling into a positively-toned tie in the nature of an identification" [43]. Such a "reversal seems to occur under the influence of a common affectionate tie with a person outside the group". Its ultimate "demand", from which the leader is exempt, being that "equalization shall be consistently carried through", identification thus describes processes from internal self-relation group formation, and how individuals relate to, and through, imaginary structures [44]. If the life and death drives thus play very different roles in the identificatory narrative, this Chapter and later ones will show how Defoe's use of William the outsider, whilst not in itself a particularly individual gesture, can be linked to his rhetoric of national unity and common affection. Just, then, as the authorial ego may seem on the point of being overwhelmed in certain extreme conditions, so too can heroic leaders switch into sacrificial victims, for those discourses of national unity so often glimpsed in his polemical writing are based on an originary reversal.

Lacan, who revised identification with other concepts in terms of an ego beset by narcissicism and paranoia, stated in 1958 that "it is in the oldest demand"

> that the primary identification is produced, that which is brought about by the mother's omnipotence, that is to say, the identification that not only suspends the satisfaction of

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[42] Freud, 'Mourning and Melancholia' (1917 [1915]), trans. by J. Riviere (*SE* 14, 1957), pp. 239-58, (pp. 251-2).
[43] Freud, 'Group Psychology', pp. 105-8.
[44] Freud, 'Group Psychology', p. 121.

> needs from the signifying apparatus, but also that which fragments them, filters them, models them upon the defiles and the structure of the signifier. [45]

Further, equating primary identification with the mirror stage in 'Aggressivity in psychoanalysis', and connecting it to secondary identification, he commented that "the structural effect of identification with the rival is not self-evident, except at the level of fable, and can only be conceived of if the way is prepared for it by the primary identification that structures the subject as a rival with himself" [46]. His Hegelian image of the ego-ideal contrasted the imaginary with the symbolic thus: "The *Ichideal*, the ego-ideal, is the other as speaking, the other in so far as he has a symbolic relation to me [*moi*],"

> which, within the terms of our dynamic manipulation, is both similar to and different from the imaginary libido. Symbolic exchange is what links human beings to each other ... and it makes it possible to identify the subject. [47]

Lacanian identification, though in the symbolic, thus remains an imaginary process since its secondary form begins with the mirror stage delusion of a unified 'corporeal' ego image, when "the individual seeks to dissolve the otherness of the other by becoming his counterpart" [48]. The logic of Freud's hysterical counterpart, or Imaginary partner, is then a crucial paradigm for the specular ego that Lacan theorized as the result of a child's imaginary mastering of its real lack of control of the mother's presence and absence in primal identification. Writing that "in this moment the subject is not simply mastering his privation by assuming it, but ... is raising his desire to a second power", Lacan's analysis moved from the imaginary, through primary symbolization, and into the symbolic. "For his

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[45] Lacan, 'The direction of the treatment and the principles of its power', in *Écrits: A Selection*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (Tavistock, 1977), pp. 226-80, (p. 255).
[46] Lacan, 'Aggressivity in psychoanalysis', in *Écrits*, pp. 8-29, (p. 22).
[47] Lacan, *Freud's Papers on Technique, 1953-1954, The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book I*, ed. by Jacques-Alain Miller, trans. with notes by John Forrester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 142.
[48] Michael Payne, 'Review of *Lacan*, by Malcolm Bowie', *Lit & Psy*, 39:3, (1993), 66-74, (pp. 72-3).

action destroys the object which it causes to appear and disappear in the anticipating *provocation* of its absence and its presence. His action thus negatives the field of forces of desire in order to become its own object to itself" [49].

To talk of appearing and disappearing, and of becoming through negation, clearly alludes to the two other concepts dealt with in this section. Having shown where the links begin, I want first though to provide an example of the identificatory connection between sight and power. Recalling his answer when in prison for *The Shortest Way* to Harley's question, "Pray ask that Gentleman, what *I can do for him?*", Defoe's *Appeal* introduced its scene of writing and divinely restored vision with a comment—"a Message was brought me from a Person of Honour, who, till that time, I had never had the least Acquaintance with, or Knowledge of, other than by Fame, or by Sight, as we know Men of Quality by seeing them on publick Occasions"—that fused knowledge of public figures with the visual identifications that construct the fantasy relations between individuals, groups, and their leaders:

> I immediately took my Pen and Ink, and writ the Story of the blind Man in the Gospel, who follow'd our Saviour, and to whom our Blessed Lord put the Question, *What wilt thou that I should do unto thee?* Who, as if he had made it strange that such a Question should be ask'd, or as if he had said, *Lord, doest thou see that I am blind, and yet ask me what thou shalt do for me?* My Answer is plain in my Misery, *Lord that I may receive my Sight.* [50]

The instance of Christ's healing power that Defoe here expanded to illustrate his theme of power and sight is particularly interesting given the equation made between blindness and confinement [51]. Since Christ did not accept the Pharisees' view that such physical disabilities

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[49] Lacan, *Speech and Language in Psychoanalysis*, trans. with notes and commentary by Anthony Wilden (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1968), p. 83.
[50] Defoe, *An Appeal to Honour and Justice*, in *Boulton*, p. 171.
[51] See *Luke*, 18. 35-43.

resulted from sin, Defoe's tale implies his innocence. The 'as if' glosses also declared a fictionalizing strategy. Nevertheless, as my later discussion of Defoe's linking of death and confinement demonstrates, in its entirety this passage describes a complicated act of symbolic negation.

Arguing that the negation of psychoanalysis and, "in the logical and linguistic sense—the 'symbol of negation'—share the same origin", Freud's 1925 article on *Verneinung*, meaning both "negation and denial", concluded that "Affirmation—as a substitute [*Ersatz*] for uniting—belongs to Eros; negation—the successor [*Nachfolge*] to expulsion—belongs to the instinct of destruction" [52]. Interpretation was, then, a matter "of disregarding the negation and of picking out the subject-matter alone of the association". Given, however, that "the intellectual function is separated from the affective process", if "the content of a repressed image or idea can make its way into consciousness, on condition that it is *negated*",

> ... only one consequence of the process of repression is undone—the fact, namely, of the ideational content of what is repressed not reaching consciousness. The outcome of this is a kind of intellectual acceptance of the repressed, while at the same time what is essential to the repression persists. [53]

Locating the death drive, in Ragland-Sullivan's words, "beyond biology and primordial masochism in the unsymbolized Imaginary", or "the gap between body experience and a perceptual sense of unity", Lacan called negation "the patent form of ... the *function of méconnaissance* that characterizes the ego in all its structures". In this way, he placed death at the core of identity. Yet it is only the narcissistic ego's imaginary perception that one "exists as a personality (and as a complete body)" which "stands between him and

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[52] Freud, 'Negation' (1925), trans. by J. Riviere (*SE* 19, 1961), 235-9, (p. 239); and see **Negation**, in *LP*, pp. 261-3.
[53] Freud, 'Negation', pp. 235-6.

metaphorical death: corporal and perceptual fragmentation" [54]. If absence and presence alluded to the *fort / da* game that symbolized the death drive, its "essential" insight being that "aggressiveness is first of all directed against the subject and, as it were, stagnant within him, before being deflected outside", Lacan extrapolated its process of mastery, invoking Hegel in two ways [55].

The first way can be seen more clearly by returning to Chaitin. For, having quoted Lacan's maxim—"the symbol ... [is] the murder of the thing, and this death constitutes in the subject the eternalization of his desire"—he states that "the 'real thing' at which symbolization aims is removed from, and replaced by the symbol", and "hence the *manque-à-être* [want-to-be], the eternalization of the desire to find the lost signified, the being of the world and of ourselves, once again" [56]. Rejected by the libidinal order in which the ego is, with the other drives, "inscribed in imaginary tensions," the symbolic order "tends beyond the pleasure principle and the limits of life". This is why Lacan can state that "the death instinct is only the mask of the symbolic order," at once "non-being and insisting to be", and what, in his view, explains Freud's description of it as "the most fundamental—a symbolic order in travail, in the process of coming, insisting on being realised" [57].

Second, Hegel's attempt to "structure the fundamental relation within an original myth" of the master and slave offered Lacan an "account of the interhuman bond" that traversed the symbolic and imaginary realms. If the master risks his life, entering the "struggle for reasons of pure prestige", it is "in the name of" that risk that he gains the slave's recognition. Since,

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54 Lacan, 'The mirror stage as formative of the function of the I ...', in *Écrits*, pp. 1-7, (pp. 6-7); Ragland-Sullivan, *Philosophy of Psychoanalysis*, p. 150.

55 Jean Laplanche, *Life and Death in Psychoanalysis*, trans. and intro. by Jeffrey Mehlman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 86.

56 Chaitin, *Rhetoric and Culture*, pp. 52-3.

57 Lacan, *The Ego in Freud's Theory and in the Technique of Psychoanalysis, 1954-1955, The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book II*, ed. by Jacques-Alain Miller, trans. with notes by John Forrester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 326.

however, "recognition by the slave is worth nothing to the master", this "impasse" has "affinities" with "the imaginary situation". Institution of the social bond, whereby the slave must "satisfy the desire and the pleasure [*jouissance*] of the other" parallels entry into the symbolic, yet this "situation cannot be grounded in" any "biological panic at the approach of death" which, "never experienced as such", is in the strict sense an "imaginary fear" [...]:

> In the Hegelian myth, death is not even structured like a fear, it is structured like a risk, ... like a stake. From the beginning, between the master and the slave, there's a rule of the game. [58]

Referring to the mirror stage, Lacan explained that the "special impotence at the beginning of life ... is introduced, perpetuated in man in the relation to the other who is infinitely more fatal for him than for any other animal."

> This image of the master, which is what he sees in the form of the specular image, becomes confused in him with the image of death. Man can be in the presence of the absolute master. He is in his presence from the beginning ... in so far as he is subjected to this image. [59]

With these points in mind, I want now to examine a shift from self-abasement to deathly heroics in Defoe's letter of January, 1703. After comparing his flight "from her Majties justice" to "a kind of Raiseing Warr Against her", he begged the Earl of Nottingham "to Assist" him "in Laying Down These Arms, Or at Least in Makeing Such a Truce, as may Thro' her Majties Condesension Obtain her Pardon" [60]. That blurred boundary between the literal and the figural suggests the fear behind similarly aggressive fantasies. But, in contrast to the *Essay*, war is no longer something which happens to others. Observing,

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58 Lacan, *Seminar I*, p. 223.
59 Lacan, *Seminar I*, p. 149.
60 Defoe, 'Letter 1. *To* Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham: 9 January 1702/3', in *LDH*, pp. 1-3, (p. 1).

then, "that Felons, and Thieves, whose Punishmt is Death are Frequently Spar'd upon Entring into her Majties Service", Defoe imagined a more extreme destiny than his offence warranted, and so used the threat of death to empower his message:

> If her Majtie Will be pleased to Order me, to Serve her a year, or More at my Own Charges, I Will Surrender my Self a Voluntier at the head of her Armyes, in the Netherlands, To any Collonell of horse, her Majtie Shall Direct, and without Doubt my Lord I shall Dye There Much More To her Service than in a Prison; and If by my Behaviour I Can Expiate This Offence, and Obtain her Majties Pardon, I shall Think it much More honourable to me Than if I had it by Petition. [61]

That unconvincing 'or More' distinguishes 'Surrender' from 'Voluntier'. "But", lastly, Defoe claims that, if granted "a Totall Remission of This Offence", he "Will Raise her Majtie a Troop of horse, at my Own Charges, and at the head of Them Ile Serve her as Long as I Live." Hoping to "Assure" Nottingham that he was "Ready with my hand, my Pen, or my head, to Show her Majtie The Gratitude of a Pardoned Subject", in less dangerous ways suggests the internal conflict behind his more excessive claims [62]. Yet, the key contradiction is that, facing a gaol sentence, Defoe's expiatory schemes repeat the same thing: military service until death. Foregrounding the drive, or what Freud paradoxically calls "the instincts of self-preservation, of self-assertion and of mastery ... whose function it is to assure that the organism shall follow its own path to death", Defoe in effect negates the significance of the Queen's decision [63].

Further, an uncanny parallel exists between how *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* interprets those games of the "good little boy", that "might satisfy an impulse ... which was suppressed in his actual life", and the manifest aim of Defoe's epistolary fantasies. To die 'at the head of her

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61 Defoe, 'Letter 1', p. 3.
62 Defoe, 'Letter 1', p. 3.
63 Freud, 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle' (1920), trans. by J. Strachey (*SE* 18, 1955), pp. 1-64, (p. 39).

Armyes' rather than serve an unspecified period in prison replaces what, in Freud's equation, could be "a *passive* situation", with a writing "game" in which Defoe takes "on an *active* part" by exaggerating his offence [64]. It is also to replay what, in the bobbin and string game, was "the first act, that of departure," which, Freud commented, "was staged as a game in itself far more frequently than the episode in its entirety, with its pleasurable ending", symbolizing control over the mother's return. "A year later", writes Freud, "the same boy whom I had observed at his first game used to take a toy,"

> if he was angry with it, and throw it on the floor, exclaiming: 'Go to the fwont!' He had heard at that time that his absent father was 'at the front', and was far from regretting his absence ... [65]

The conceit Defoe used to describe his actions in terms of truces and the rules of war thus allowed a rhetorical figure of higher status, symbolizing a desire to behave well, to emerge. At the same time, sending 'himself', or his imaginary counterpart, to the front, Defoe becomes the object in his own game, and so masters a disagreeable situation by seeming to gamble for the ultimate stake.

Whilst, then, the tropes of national disunity and union on which he often draws can be understood in terms of Lacan's fragmented body and the fantasy of wholeness, identification is one of the main ways that an aesthetic, or fictionalizing, dimension rarely found in other propagandists' non-fictional prose, enters Defoe's political rhetoric. Substituting an "extraneous self for his own", creates an uncanny figure, what Freud in 1919 called a "doubling, dividing and interchanging of the self. And finally there is the constant recurrence of the same thing—the repetition of the same features or character traits or

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64 Freud, 'Beyond', pp. 14-6.
65 Freud, 'Beyond', p. 16.

vicissitudes" [66]. Further, this substitution suggests the double psychical model that some theories of intertextuality imply [67]. Equally, a parallel with the delusion of wholeness can be found in the strategy of placing what seem like "empirical facts and historical events" into a fictionalizing frame that supplies "meaning" and "conceptual unity"; and, writes Eberhard Späth, this move also seeks to construct "the illusion of having comrades in thought" [68].

In the "compulsion to repeat which overrides the pleasure principle", Freud again signalled the death drive's operation in rhetorical strategies seeking mastery [69]. Defoe, for his part, often delivered a maxim that implicitly linked the law with what could be seen as symbolic castration equated by Freud with death, or perhaps that lack instituted by Lacan in the identificatory narrative itself. Thus *The History of the Kentish Petition* concluded:

> Nature has left this Tincture in the Blood,
> That all Men wou'd be Tyrants if they cou'd,
> Not Kings alone, not Ecclesiatick pride,
> But *Parliaments*, and all Mankind beside.
> All Men, like *Phaeton*, would Command the Reins,
> 'Tis only want of Power that restrains. [70]

Despite disavowing Hobbes, Defoe's thesis makes more sense in the light of the claim that "Private men, while they assume to themselves the knowledge of *good* and *evil*, desire to be even as kings; which cannot be with the safety of the commonweal" [71]. An envying of power and a justification of the will to possess it, a certain desire masks the tension such a

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[66] Freud, 'The 'Uncanny'' (1919), trans. by A. Strachey (*SE* 17, 1955), pp. 219-52, (p. 134).

[67] See Wolfgang Iser, 'Representation: A Performative Act', in *The Aims of Representation: Subject/Text/History*, ed. and intro. by Murray Krieger, Irvine Studies in the Humanities, ed. by Robert Folkenflik (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), pp. 217-32.

[68] Eberhard Späth, 'Facts and Factions: Political Pamphlets of the Time of Queen Anne', *ZAA*, 40:2 (1992), 130-40, (pp. 133-8).

[69] Freud, 'Beyond', p. 22.

[70] Defoe, *The History of the Kentish Petition* (1416. k. 18., pp. i-iv, 1-25, 4°, 1701), p. 23. Henceforth *HKP*.

[71] Thomas Hobbes, *De Cive*, cited by J. W. N. Watkins, *Hobbes's System of Ideas: A Study in the Political Significance of Philosophical Theories* (Hutchinson University Library, 1973), p. 111.

statement reproduces. Illustrating dual themes of aggression and omnipotence, its ambiguities and variable tone locate a site for producing *méconnaissance*. Having introduced the themes that structure a study that ends with an act of union, I now turn to the Chapters themselves.

Synopsis of Chapters 2-8

The nineteenth century enshrined Defoe's foresight [72]. Twentieth century critics, by contrast, called most of *An Essay Upon Projects*' economic or military schemes impractical or backward-looking. Thus, Maximillian Novak found him "trying to recover" the Roman road system [73]. Yet Defoe's road-building Legionaries revive an ambivalent self-colonizing identification with an occupying force implicitly strengthened by slave labour. And though the "almost whimsical precision" that Henry Morley saw pinpointed the giddiness and instability in Defoe's double view of projecting, neither view responds to the fact that his persona's plans to reconstruct everything from roads to language itself, were often negated [74]. Defoe drew on political arithmetic and other disciplines that use project's sense of throwing forwards in specialized ways. Further, Aristotle's definition of metaphor as the "introduction of a word which belongs to something else" suggests the value of two antitheses, one of which can be seen in project's etymology, the other in its psychoanalytic meaning [75].

Whilst the introductory section looks at the issue of gender in the struggle between order and chaos, having located woman's displaced presence in the period's "most imaginative", yet double, banking proposals, Chapter 2 evaluates the binding metaphor of music [76]. Though his "glorification of war" put Defoe at variance with Locke, the *Essay*'s largest

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[72] See Walter Wilson, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel De Foe*, 3 Vols (Hurst, Chance and Co., 1830), Vol. I, pp. 256-68; William Lee, *Daniel Defoe: His Life and Hitherto Unknown Writings*, 3 vols (Hotten, 1863), Vol. I, pp. 38-9.

[73] Novak, *Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 11-17, (p. 31); see also Peter Earle, *The World of Defoe* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), p. 187; Bastian, *Early Life*, pp. 198-200; and Defoe, *EP*, *Of the* HIGH-WAYS, pp. 69-70.

[74] Morley, 'Editor's Introduction', *EP*, Cassells's National Library (Cassell & Co., 1887), p. 5; see **whim**, *OED*, Vol. XX, for "double meaning", p. 235; see also **whimsical**, p. 236, and **whim-wham**, p. 237.

[75] Aristotle cited by Paul Gordon, 'Freud's "On the Antithetical Sense of Primary Words": Psycho-analysis, Art, and the Antithetical Senses', *Style*, 24:2 (1990), 167-86 (p. 171).

[76] J. Keith Horsefield, *British Monetary Experiments, 1650-1710* (London School of Economics / G. Bell & Sons, 1960), p. 140. However, the title changes noted by J. D. Kennedy, "Defoe's *An Essay Upon Projects*: The Order of Issues', *SB*, 23 (1970), 170-75, (p. 175), suggest that other Academy projects were then thought more timely.

sections were non-military, and his calculations for the Military Academy and other projects were basic, and often cursory [77]. Yet the death drive, glimpsed in a Lacanian allegory of bodily fragmentation in the Seamen's Insurance plans, and in sailors' links with the grave, also inflects a number of different binary terms, the most significant of which would be: land (life) / sea (death), and fruitful / fruitless. Further, if David Lawton found "blasphemy at the core" of Freud's "enterprise", plans for an Academy to refine language use and attack swearing only stress the contradictory textual violence in Defoe's treatment of women and language [78]. The accusation that he stole Mary Astell's educational scheme may be false, yet Defoe's subtle antitheses challenge optimistic views about the Women's Academy's strange shape [79]. Chapter 2 closes, then, by examining the metaphors linked to breeding and the issue of earlier architectural models.

Chapter 3 starts from a revised and extended cultural context that suggests an under-estimation of the printed opposition to a large peace-time military force [80]. If Mid-1690s recruitment schemes show propaganda's separation from economic and legislative realities, it argues that the debate over whether a revised Militia could replace the Army that involved Defoe from December, 1697, was linked to, but didn't simply reflect, the real struggle for executive military power in which neither side saw a Militia as practical. This weight of anti-Court propaganda suggests a relative devaluing of the political significance of Defoe's *fort / da* rhetoric, yet attempts to extend the canon have "intensified, transferred, and

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77 Schonhorn, *Defoe's Politics*, p. 53.

78 David Lawton, *Blasphemy* (New York, London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), p. 145.

79 Rosalind Delmar, 'Eighteenth Century Amazons', *Fem R*, 26 (1987), 105-14, (p. 113).

80 E. A. Miller, 'Some Arguments used by English Pamphleteers, 1697-1700, Concerning a Standing Army', *Jnl Mod Hist*, 18:4 (1946), 306-13, listed 17 tracts. Combining Schwoerer, 'Chronology and Authorship of the Standing Army Tracts, 1697-1699', *N&Q*, n.s. 13: (1966), 382-90, and J. A. Downie, 'Chronology and Authorship of the Standing Army Tracts: A Supplement', *N&Q*, n.s. 23:8 (1976), 342-6, the balance of titles (25/18) seemed to favour the king. See L. J. D. Kennedy, 'Standing Armies Revisited (1697-1700): Authorship, Chronology, and Public Perception', *N&Q*, 241 (September, 1996), 287-92.

embellished" his reputation as an Army supporter and the king's writer, drawing attention away from how the firmly linked works oscillate between incommensurable views [81].

Defoe stressed how Parliament's control of finance meant that William could not directly halt the disbandment and, in the event, an accommodation of sorts was reached, since the nation couldn't fully afford to pay off its troops [82]. If the illusion of national unity permits Defoe to equivocate on military options whilst attacking individual opponents on rhetorical grounds, Schonhorn felt his comment in *A Brief Reply to the History of Standing Armies*, that "the war is now like the Gospel, Men must be set apart for it", to be unironic [83]. Yet the "ancient" definition of irony as "expressing something by its opposite, its *contrarium*", explicitly connects it with rhetorical antithesis [84].

Moreover, a binary view of ironic identification suggests that Defoe's response to the master and slave dialectic in Trenchard's references to horses and riders needs decoding within the double discourse of the Public Good. Whilst the work of the death drive is apparent both in Defoe's fragmentation of a coherent position in his contradictory treatment of Elizabeth I's military provisions as in his frequent references to the nation's harmony, the intriguing *Letter from a Gentleman at St. Germains, to his Friend in London* illustrates how the debate's often suppressed economic side subtly reasserted itself in such fugitive pieces [85].

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[81] Friedrich Nietzsche, 'On Truth and Lies in a Nonmoral Sense', in *Philosophy and Truth: Selections from Nietzsche's Notebooks of the Early 1870s*, trans. and ed. by Daniel Breazale (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1979), pp. 79-97, (p. 84). *DA*, pp. 8-9, removed Moore's two conjectures. See also Bastian, *Early Life*, pp. 216-7; and Novak, '*A Vindication of the Press* and the Defoe Canon', *SEL*, 27 (1987), 399-411.

[82] See Lois G. Schwoerer, *"No Standing Armies!": The Antiarmy Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1974), pp. 156-60.

[83] Defoe cited in Schonhorn, *Defoe's Politics*, p. 56. Note that J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), calls Defoe "a modern, writing to defend the Junto Whigs, the Bank of England, and the standing army", pp. 433-4.

[84] Paul Gordon, 'Freud's "On the Antithetical Sense of Primary Words"', p. 171.

[85] See David Macaree, *Daniel Defoe and the Jacobite Movement*, Sälzburg Studies in English Literature: 42 (1980), pp. 14-28, who attributes the *Letter* to Defoe.

Noting how Defoe revised his reading of the debate in 1706, Chapter 3 ends with the violent paradoxes in *Lex Talionis*, some of which can be traced to his *Brief Reply*'s new strategies. Exploring his treatment of religion and kings from November, 1700, to December, 1701, Chapter 4 then finds negation in the intertextuality of *The Two Great Questions* tracts, which discussed a possible return to hostilities after Spain's dying ruler altered his will in an attempt to avoid partition. Another example of Defoe's theme of the striving for absolute power in the first of these texts is now treated as the key to Lacanian paranoia. Its ambivalences are, then, read as defensive actions against internal hostility, projected as figures of sacrifice and revenge. Whilst his later disavowed rhetoric of portents and miracles broadly links works such as *The Present State of Jacobitism* and *The Danger of the Protestant Religion*, Chapter 4 analyzes death and expulsion in *The Livery Man's Reasons*, and how Defoe's *Original Power of the Collective Body* would, at the close of 1701, oppose the death of kings and parliaments with the people's eternal life [86].

The reversal of a New Testament identification in *The Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament Man* is also noted since, as Claude Lefort wrote, "the image of the body that informed monarchical society was underpinned by that of Christ" [87]. Defoe, who was quite capable of taking this identification himself, ironized its Stuart associations when his *Jure Divino* Preface discussed James II's plight [88]. Nevertheless, though "sacrifice (and concomitantly death and melancholia) is *aufgehoben*—destroyed and superseded" by the Christian Eucharist, the momentary "break in the bond linking Christ to his Father and to life introduces" what Kristeva called "a fundamental and psychically necessary discontinuity"

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[86] See J. R. Sutherland, *Defoe* (Methuen and Co., 1937), p. 66. Without evaluating its internal inconsistencies, his reading of *The Danger of the Protestant Religion*, prioritized an equation between trade and religion over the central one, between war and religion.

[87] Claude Lefort, 'The Image of the Body and Totalitarianism', in *The Political Forms of Modern Society: Bureaucracy, Democracy, Totalitarianism*, ed. and intro. by John B. Thompson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986), pp. 292-306, (pp. 305-6).

[88] See 'Preface', *JD*, p. i, where James is compared with "our blessed Saviour", forsaken in his hour of need.

at the "heart of the absolute subject" [89]. Since this break, then, also serves to negate the insanity of an absolute ego, these implicit connections (which Defoe himself never brought to consciousness) give meaning to the sacrifices demanded by the striving for power which Lacan theorized in Hegelian terms.

The Succession to the Crown of England, Consider'd, of February, 1701, dramatized this imaginary identification less explicitly. Its politically divisive and contradictory support for Dalkeith, Monmouth's son, and the Earl of Rochester's son-in-law, could hardly have "gratified" William III, and, as close analysis shows, this tale of martyred Stuart blood, paternal negation, ambition and death defuses its own explosive fantasy [90]. Defoe neither acknowledged nor denied responsibility, yet his strategy can be read as continuing to attack those political opponents aimed at in *The Two Great Questions* tracts. For the *Animadversions on the Succession to the Crown*, which placed the text's ideological source by naming John Darby, the Commonwealth Club printer, also tied it to *The True-Born Englishman*, which had in turn been attributed to Toland by William Pittis [91].

If Defoe's view of public credit shows a division between feminine possession or hysteria and solid masculine belief, Chapter 5 measures the oppositional and unstable attempt to possess authority in the multiple identifications of *Legion's Memorial*, before turning to assess the relevance of gender to the text's delivery as reported in *The History of the Kentish Petition*

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[89] Julia Kristeva, *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia*, trans. by Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 131-2.

[90] Chalmers, *Life*, p. 16, on William's likely response to Defoe, *Reasons Against A War With France.*

[91] *Animadversions on the Succession to the Crown of England, Consider'd. Publish'd by Captain D—by ...* (8122.bb.35. (10.), 4°, pp. 1-30, 1701), called its object of attack "this Second Child of his Brain", pp. 1-2. For other views on Defoe's *Succession* tract, see Schonhorn, 'Defoe: The Literature of Politics and the Politics of some Fictions', in *English Literature in the Age of Disguise*, ed. by Maximillian E. Novak (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 15-56, (p. 53); Moore, *Citizen*, pp. 52-61; and Bastian, *Early Life*, pp. 248-9.

[92]. Pursuing the devilish figure into the intertextual contest that links *A Dialogue Between a Dissenter and The Observator* with John Tutchin's previously unacknowledged critique makes it possible to revise its tales of controlled violence and capital repayment. Exploring the *Dialogue*'s reference to "Wheels within Wheels"—a key phrase in Defoe's vocabulary of statecraft—and to Matthew Mead's still famous Revolution sermon on the Ezekiel text, reveals a model for the "dialectic of judgement" operating through specular identification and increases awareness of how problematic supporters like Joseph Jacob could be redeployed against Tutchin in the argument over Occasional Conformity [93].

Thus, with an increased sense of his internal contestation, I discuss *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* less as a work of liberal irony, than as a reversal of the violence of the law, which also lays bare the 'protective' coercion that Charles Tilly has identified in modern state formation [94]. Refusing a trial plea of insanity, Defoe's independent self-possession met a violent system he in many ways supported [95]. If his later contradictory explanations can also be read as reversals that extended the text's ironic space, pinpointing those "areas of incoherence, discontinuity, disruption, or disturbance" marking the death drive's influence in a violent narrative, Chapter 5 traces *The Shortest Way*'s intertextual links with John Dennis's earlier attack on Sacheverell [96].

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[92] See Simon Schaffer, 'Defoe's Natural Philosophy and the Worlds of Credit', in *Nature Transfigured: Science and Literature, 1700-1900*, ed. by John Christie and Sally Shuttleworth (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 13-44.

[93] Lacan, 'Position of the Unconscious', in *Reading Seminar XI*, p. 261; and see Jeremy A. D. Tagg, 'The Machiavellian Defoe: A Study of the Influence of Popular Political Literature on the Propaganda and Fiction of Daniel Defoe' (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, King's College London, 1995), p. 60, who argues that this phrase's "understanding of Providence tallies with the Machiavellian technique of bringing rivals into conformity with one's designs without rousing their suspicions".

[94] See James Arnt Aune, *Rhetoric and Marxism*, Polemics Series, ed. by Michael Calvin McGee and Barbara Biesecker (Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press, 1994), p. 20; and Charles Tilly, 'War Making and State Making as Organized Crime', in *Bringing the State Back In*, ed. by Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 169-91.

[95] See Backschieder, 'No Defense: Defoe in 1703', *PMLA*, 103 (1988), 274-84.

[96] Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok, 'The Topography of Reality: Sketching a Metapsychology of Secrets' (1971), in *The Shell and the Kernel: Renewals of Psychoanalysis*, Vol. I, ed., trans., and intro. by Nicholas T. Rand (Chicago

Though the rhetoric of Occasional Conformity was inseparable from the historical argument over the moral validity of dissimulation as a shield against persecution, recent opinion has sought to square Defoe's public stances with some ambiguous private comments to Harley in the summer of 1704. Yet if, as his current bibliographers argue, Defoe had a "steady and unified vision" based on "logical but thoroughly uncomfortable positions", and merely said in private what he was also prepared to state publicly, Chapter 6 argues that his complex rhetorical strategies show the "perverse" aggression at work behind sociopolitical or psychic illusions of unity [97]. By the time William's death in March, 1702, removed the most egregious example of Occasional Conformity, Defoe's often infuriating syllogistic arguments were closely linked to the dissenting disapproval of a practice with different implications throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries [98]. Defoe, however, who was usually drawn to a debate's incommensurable elements, moved back and forth between "ethics and fantasy", deploying a variety of public and private faces over two reigns [99].

Aiming to make "politics fully rhetorical", Defoe's Machiavellian "adaptability" was not in itself that "amoral opportunism" which also "corresponds to a literal dissolution of character", and which might be seen as an expression of the death drive [100]. Equally, removing long accepted titles which may favour Occasional Conformity in terms that also allowed Defoe to reach a negative conclusion cannot alter the instability in his firm attributions. Looking with resignation to the Queen and the Lords, the Postscript

[97] Owens and Furbank, 'Defoe and the Dutch Alliance: Some Attributions Examined', *BJECS*, 9 (1986), 169-82, (p. 176); and see Furbank and Owens, *Canonisation*, pp. 144-50.
[98] For their relations, see Downie, 'Daniel Defoe: King William's Pamphleteer?' *ECL*, 12:3 (1988), 105-17. See also David L. Wykes, 'Religious Dissent and the Penal Laws: An Explanation of Business Success?', *H*, 75 (1990), 39-62; and Henry L. Snyder, 'The Defeat of the Occasional Conformity Bill and the Tack: a Study in the Techniques of Parliamentary Management in the Reign of Queen Anne', *BIHR*, XLI (1968), 172-92.
[99] Slavoj Zizek, 'Superego by Default', in *The Metastases of Enjoyment: Six Essays on Woman and Causality* (London, New York: Verso, 1994), pp. 54-85, (p. 80).
[100] Eugene Garver, 'Arguing over Incommensurable Values: The Case of Machiavelli', in *The Rhetorical Turn*, ed. Simons, pp. 187- 207, (p. 196).

comment to one recently ejected title, *Persecution Anatomiz'd*—"If we must at last be forc'd to a Compliance, we can't help it"—illustrates the challenge of defending a beleagured religious position with a tradition of social militancy, whilst appearing compliant, that also colours Defoe's part in the debate [101]. Chapter 6 thus explores Jean-Jacques Lecercle's suggestion, that "the literal interpretation of the injunction is a means of ironically subverting the symbol of ... arbitrary authority" [102].

Chapter 7 finds the death drive in *The Consolidator*'s beating fantasy directed at poets hidden amongst its satiric treatment of science and religion. Often confused with Defoe himself, the inconsistent narrator's identification deconstructs realism by being both learned and ignorant, knowing and gullible. Making the traveller from earth meet his moon double, Defoe extended Bishop Wilkins's conceit of interchangeable worlds to imply that the other is recognized as himself [103]. If Mead's rhetoric infiltrates the Consolidator Chariot's description, Ezekiel's wheels were notably embedded with eyes and the moon metaphor of specular identification, a result of characterizing the divine being as a great eye, sets up a larger debate about politics, memory, and imagination, relevant to the two 'other spaces', China and Russia, with which the text begins.

Incorporating much retrospective and sometimes repetitious social commentary tied to his own concerns, Defoe's anti-narrative depicts individuals and political bodies in various states of disarray and confusion. Thus Chapter 7 continues to discuss the death drive and returns

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[101] *Persecution Anatomiz'd: Or, An Answer to the Following Questions* ... (698.i.4. (3), pp. 23, 4°, 1705), pp. 22-3. *DA*, pp. 15-21, removes three other entries on Occasional Conformity including *The Protestant Jesuite Unmask'd: In Answer to the Two Parts of Cassandra.*

[102] Jean-Jacques Lecercle, 'Textual responsibility', in *The Political Responsibility of Intellectuals*, ed. by Ian Maclean, Alan Montefiore, and Peter Winch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 101-21, (p. 111).

[103] See Narelle L. Shaw, 'Ancients and Moderns in Defoe's *Consolidator*', *SEL*, 28 (1988), 391-400, who provides other examples of the "discrepancy" between author and narrator (p. 393), and notes that "deriving its learning from the moon, China is indebted, necessarily, to the earth. Those inventions and advancements which the narrator heralds as belonging to the Chinese are actually the property of the moderns", (p. 399).

to Freud's *Group Psychology*, whilst treating the beating fantasy as a sadomasochistic moment that also offers one of the ways in which the different totalitarian regimes of China and Russia are subtextually linked. Defoe's satire of the former country has been seen as a xenophobic rejection of seventeenth century England's more positive views [104]. Others have placed *The Consolidator*'s use of parody and the absurd to warn against accepting the panegyrics from Catholic missionaries and "apologists for the Ancients" in the first phase of an increasingly negative attitude to pro-Chinese sentiment [105]. Yet, as will be seen, by misreading his rhetoric in places Defoe's critics erase the larger political discussion and his use of this other cultural space to satirize Europe in its turn.

Chapter 8 traces the death drive from Wilson's description of Defoe as 'embalming' Scotland's ancient nobility in *Caledonia*. In the only individual study to date, Hans Östman called the poem an "unconventional ... landmark in bourgeois literature", which managed to be a "panegyrical tribute to the heroism and virtue of the Scottish people" whilst moving "between topography and satire". Defoe, he rightly argued, "never stops to worship nature", his sole concern being "the possibilities of exploiting it economically". Yet to claim that the poet's "way of regarding" nature "as a Prostitute to Industry" was "remote from all physico-theology" understates his use of religious ideology, and erases the Defoean paradox that qualified 'Prostitute' with the prefix 'perfect', thus problematizing the work's manifest agenda [106].

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[104] See Zhang Longxi, 'The Myth of the Other: China in the Eyes of the West', *Crit I*, 15 (1988), 108-31, (p. 121), who stresses Crusoe's later "colonial militarism".

[105] G. A. Nelson and M. Rewa, 'Enlightenment Sinophilia: Defoe's Dissent', *Enl E*, V:3/4 (1974), 26-42, (p. 27).

[106] Hans Östman, 'Defoe's "Caledonia"', *Moderna Språk*, 77:1 (1982), 13-19 (p. 19, p. 13); see **perfect** in *OED*, Vol. XI, pp. 535-7, accomplished, fully and thoroughly formed, carried out, skilled, trained, of supreme moral excellence, righteous, holy, immaculate, sane, an accurate representation, unmitigated (when qualifying something disliked or repulsive). See also DeLuna '"Modern Panegyrick" and Defoe's "Dunciad"', *SEL*, 35 (1995), 419-35.

Defoe's letter of 2 November, 1706, which told Harley he was "writeing a Poem in praise of scotland", as part of his plan "to perswade them I am a friend to their Country", can certainly be called cynical [107]. Nevertheless, Defoe's discussion of his practices and motivation for writing *Caledonia* largely replays what Harley had ordered him to do in mid-October [108]. In contrast to Furbank and Owens, Paula Backscheider has described the poem as "the most eloquent testimony to Defoe's support in Scotland" [109]. Yet, since this poem can also be taken as an act of cultural disempowerment, a different sort of reading arises when the work is seen as the dramatization of a counterpart identification between both master and servant, and England and Scotland. Whilst rereading *Caledonia* beside Scottish reaction to the Union to bring a narrative of 'projection' full circle, Chapter 8 thus questions texts from two historical moments to underline how metaphors of wealth, sexuality, national identity, and violence related to war, structure Defoe's representation of Scotland. Significantly, death itself, either threatened or actual, inflected his union narrative which, from the outset, used the equation marriage / whoredom as its legitimating or explanatory metaphor.

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[107] Defoe, 'Letter 59. *To* Robert Harley. 2 November, 1706', in *LDH*, pp. 139-41, (p. 141); Backscheider, 'Poetry', in *Ambition and Innovation*, p. 38.

[108] See 'Letter 55. [Robert Harley *to* Defoe?]. [*October 1706 ?*]', in *LDH*, p. 132.

[109] See Furbank and Owens, 'Defoe as Poet', in *Canonisation*, pp. 134-40, (p. 135); *Life*, p. 223.

2. *Writing like themselves*

> Books *are useful only to such whose Genius are suitable to the Subject of them: And to Dedicate a Book of Projects to a Person who had never concern'd himself to Think that way, would be like Musick to one that has no Ear.* [1]

The drive to mastery often identifies Defoe's political rhetoric. Yet displaced fears about loss of control, fragmentation, and deathly inertia, also echo through *An Essay Upon Projects.* For this reason, I want to suggest the value of a suppressed antithesis in his exploration of the practice of projecting. For the adjectival link to giving up, abandonment, abjection (L. *projectus* immoderate, abject), marks an opposite sense that uncannily predates the doubleness André Green noted when he called projection a placing of what is "judged undesirable (or excessively desired)" outside the ego [2]. Catherine Clément writes that anger can prompt projection [3]. The *Essay,* however, begins with a different emotion:

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[1] Defoe, 'Preface to Dalby Thomas ...', *EP*, pp. i-ii.

[2] See **project**, *sb.* (L. *project-um*, "something thrown forth or out"), *OED*, Vol. XII, p. 597, esp. 2-4, and 6; and see **project**, *ppl. a Obs.* (L. pa. pple. from *projicere*, "stretch out, expel, reject, give up"), esp. 2 and II. p. 598; André Green, 'Projection: From Projective Identification to Project', in *On Private Madness*, The International Psychoanalytical Library, ed. by Clifford Yorke: Vol. 117 (Hogarth, 1986), pp. 84-104, (p. 85). Note, further, that Green's first synopsis of the term includes the definition, "to project = to spit, to vomit".

[3] See Catherine Clément, 'The Nouveau Riches of the Intelligentsia', in *The Weary Sons of Freud*, trans. by Nicole Ball (London, New York: Verso, 1987), pp. 9-30, (p. 24).

BIBL. LONDIN.

> *One unhappiness I lie under in the following Book,* viz. *That having kept the greatest Part of it by me for near Five Years, several of the Thoughts seem to be hit by other Hands, and some by the Publick ; which turns the tables upon me, as if I had Borrow'd from them.* [4]

Pregnancy metaphors suggest intellectual achievement and economic growth, or an expectation of it; yet the turning tables locate a gaming writer's fear of reversal or delegitimation [5]. Here, then, the Preface describes inertia and sterility. Whilst the euphemistic '*Borrow'd*' points to a fear of accusations of theft, '*from them*' alludes at once to '*other Hands*', to '*the Publick*', and to the 'tables': literally, it might be said, those tabulated calculations found in five of the schemes, but absent from the Women's Academy, which may turn against their author. Whilst other untabulated mathematical operations occur throughout the *Essay*, Defoe's compulsive early capitalist fantasies also deploy a fraternal rhetoric of indebtedness, invention, and transgression, within what is mainly a projective paternalism. Characterizing the brother as an antisocial "variant on and an intensified mimesis of selected paternal features" within the modern symbolic, one who deconstructs traditional patterns of patriarchal responsibility, Juliet Flower MacCannell goes on to argue that the "symbolic function becomes narrowly defined as quantification and economic evaluation" within modernity [6]. The *Essay*'s important anonymous male identities are, it should be said, precisely those whose business is counting. Yet, as MacCannell implies, the text's split between the violent coercion and idealization of women should not obscure those moments which also narrate a generational conflict between men.

Pinpointing a central paradox, it can be said that all Defoe's plans to some extent enact the pleasure principle. They are "hallucinatory", then, in that they are "present in the

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[4] Defoe, 'The Preface', *EP*, p. iii.

[5] See **table**, *OED*, Vol. XVII, p. 512, for the association between writing and gaming.

[6] Juliet Flower MacCannell, *The Regime of the Brother: After the Patriarchy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 30-4.

imagination," but absent "in the material here and now". This gap between imagination and material reality fuels the capitalist ideology of instant gratification which, Teresa Brennan argues, is part of a process whereby an increasingly abstracted and "universalized subject-centred position", as the lone creator of value, erases the "distinction between the living and the dead" [7]. Her conclusion adds relevance to what is by no means Defoe's only use of this ideology's positive face. To take one example, the 'Introduction' thus finds "the Merchandizing Part of the World, who indeed may more truly be said to live by their Wits than any people whatsoever," the most likely to have their "Industry ... rewarded with success" [8]. Instant gratification may, then, resemble the idealization Green describes, "where the object becomes immediately available when it is needed". In which case, "there will be no projection because the subject is spared the path and has only to greet the object which anticipates his desires" [9]. The 'Introduction' continues:

> All Foreign Negoce , tho' to some 'tis a plain road by the help of Custom, yet it is in its beginning all Project, Contrivance, and Invention. Every new Voyage the Merchant contrives, is a Project ; and Ships are sent from Port to Port , as Markets and Merchandizes differ, by the help of strange and Universal Intelligence ; wherein some are so exquisite, so swift, and so exact, that a Merchant sitting at home in his Counting-house, at once converses with all Parts of the known World. [10]

Yet, what Peter Buck calls the seventeenth century "pattern for order and harmony" could only be realized by a repressive and "sustained application of political force", equatable with Freud's "pure culture of the death instinct", where the super-ego, attempting to control the

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[7] Teresa Brennan, *History After Lacan* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 92, p. 208.
[8] Defoe, 'Introduction', *EP*, pp. 7-8.
[9] Green, 'Projection', p. 87.
[10] Defoe, 'Introduction', *EP*, p. 8.

chaos of the id, imposes too harshly on the ego. If Defoe later lost sympathy with political arithmetic, this sadistic law is given rhetorical expression at one level when he draws on Sir William Petty's sometimes "bizarre and draconic" work [11]. Thus, in 'Of Friendly Societies ... II. For Widows', Defoe referred to Petty's "Ingenious Calculation ... of Burials in *London*"; and though "more cautious than the founders of the Amicable" life insurance in 1706, his later Proposal for 'A Pension Office' modified the mortality estimates without criticizing their methodological presuppositions [12]. Novak, indeed, saw the Preface attack on Child as imitating Petty's criticism of "Retailers", those "who properly and originally earn nothing from the Publick, being onely a kinde of Gamesters, that play with one another for the labours of the poor; yielding of themselves no fruit at all". Petty's comment that retailers yield no fruit locates one of the *Essay*'s key metaphoric dualities, fruitful / fruitless. The gamester metaphor, however, isn't applied to Child, but is displaced into the later essay, 'Of Seamen' [13].

The actually belated or retrospective nature of Defoe's schemes is, then, quite separate from rhetorical belatedness, where abjection's uncanny presence shows the death drive's inertia in projecting accusations of theft and worries about self-possession. Set against what might, with Susan Derwin, be called the sadistic "violence" of Defoe's "instrumental reason", Paul Smith's comment that the "masochistic moment ... promotes deferral and ... a suspense that can work only if it is in the end undone", indicates the theoretical value of the Preface's doubts about deferral, that can be linked symptomatically to statements throughout the text.

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[11] Peter Buck, 'Seventeenth-Century Political Arithmetic: Civil Strife and Vital Statistics', *Isis: An International Review Devoted to the History of Science and its Cultural Influences*, Vol. 68, No. 241 (1977), 67-84, (p. 76); Freud, 'The Ego and the Id', (1923), trans. by Joan Riviere (*SE* 19, 1961), 1-66, (p. 53).

[12] Defoe, 'Of Friendly Societies ... II. For Widows.', *EP*, p. 139; Lorraine Daston, *Classical Probability in the Enlightenment* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 170-1; and see Defoe, 'A Pension Office', *EP*, pp. 157-9.

[13] Sir William Petty, *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions* ... (1662), in *Economic Writings of Sir William Petty, together with the Observations Upon the Bills of Mortality More Probably by Captain John Graunt*, ed. by Charles Henry Hull (1899), Reprints of Economic Classics, 2 Vols (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1963), I, p. 28; cited in part by Novak, *Economics*, p. 12. For the attack on Child, see Defoe, 'The Preface', *EP*, p. xi.

An Essay Upon Projects, then, offers "too easy and transcendent a solution" to many of the social problems it identifies [14]. Further, if Defoe's steering between death driven and libidinal energies works to intensify and erase the contradictions inherent in supporting both vast social projections and the military practices that make them economically inconceivable, only the development of the sort of stock-jobbing and credit-broking systems he lambasted in *The Villainy of Stock-Jobbers Detected* could have helped to finance his own public schemes [15].

If the *Essay*'s self-conscious rhetoric illustrates the death drive's social force, at the same time alternative discourses often deconstruct its apparent mastery. Defoe projects the chaos already mentioned onto women not socialized on his terms, and a repressive agenda also operates using the stereotypical gender division that marks projection's social meaning ("Women", in Barbara Shapard's formula, "have a tendency to introject needs in attaching to men, as men project needs in attaching to women") [16]. Describing how "a meer Projector" will "paint up some Bauble or other, *as Players make Puppets talk big*, to show like a strange thing, and then cry it up for a New Invention", the last introductory section—'Of Projectors'—thus provides an initial example. These figures describe a double vocal projection by which the projector "gets a Patent for it, divides it into shares, *and they must be Sold*; ways and Means are not wanting to Swell the new Whim to a vast Magnitude" [17]. If such projects create group delusion, the 'meer Projector' image might satirize men who in

[14] Susan Derwin, 'Naming Pains', *MLN*, 108 (1993), 472-83, (p. 474); Paul Smith, 'Action Movie Hysteria, or Eastwood Bound', *differences*, 1:3 (1989), 88-107, (p. 90).

[15] See Defoe, *The Villainy of Stock-Jobbers Detected, And the Causes of the Late Run upon the Bank and Bankers Discovered and Considered.* (C.95.c.27, pp. 1-26, 4°, 1701), repr. in *TC*, pp. 255-71.

[16] See Barbara Shapard, 'Gender Stereo-typing as a Way of Not Knowing', in *Psychoanalysis, Feminism, and the Future of Gender*, ed. by Joseph H. Smith and Afaf M. Mahfouz, Psychiatry and the Humanities, Vol. 14 (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), pp. 163-70, (p. 169).

[17] Defoe, 'Of Projectors', *EP*, pp. 33-4.

some way mimic women's swelling. Yet the identification of painting up, combined with puppet's contemptuous echoes, fixes projector and project in gendered positions [18].

One available reading would, then, suggest that talking big inserts woman in male discourse as a ventriloquist's doll rather than an independent subject. Perhaps less contentiously, these words apply the empty vessels proverb to women. Yet, whilst Chapter 1 suggested its value, 'Whim' only appears once more, and in compound form when, in 'An Academy for Women', Defoe turns to discourage robbing "the *very same* Woman ... of the Benefit of Education":

> If her Temper be Good, want of Education makes her Soft and Easy.
>
> Her Wit, for want of teaching, makes her Impertinent and Talkative.
>
> Her Knowledge, for want of Judgement and Experience, makes her Fanciful and Whimsical.
>
> If her Temper be Bad, want of Breeding makes her worse, and grows Haughty, Insolent, and Loud.
>
> If she be Passionate, want of Manners makes her Termagent, and a Scold, which is much at one with *Lunatick*.
>
> If she be proud, want of Discretion (which still is Breeding) makes her Conceited, Fantastick, and Ridiculous.
>
> And from these she degenerates to be Turbulent, Clamorous, Noisy , Nasty, *and the Devil.* [19]

Defoe's violently negative images of 'Noisy', 'Nasty', and 'Insolent' uneducated women separate him from Locke's very limited positive examples, yet Walker's view of the Lockean mind as an eroticized space remains a useful model in the light of Derwin's comment that

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[18] See **puppet**, *OED*, Vol. XII, p. 854-5, esp. "**1. A contemptuous term for a person (usually a woman): cf. poppet, [pp. 120-1] *sb.* 1; ... a dressed up 'mere doll' or figure of a woman.**"

[19] Defoe, 'An Academy for Women', *EP*, pp. 295-6.

sadism's "aesthetic economy ... sexualizes reason," whilst "that of masochism sexualizes the resistance to reason" [20]. Further, though this Chapter's final section examines the positive, or life-affirming, possibility of a woman speaking many languages, its counterpart gesture can be noted here as Defoe intensifies his attack by projecting negative multiple identifications onto one supposed individual.

If the chaotic woman's 'Wit' is made to appear futile beside the standard of *homo economicus*, who 'truly' lives on his 'Wits', and whose access to a system of 'strange and Universal Intelligence' allows him to be both literally and figuratively 'at home in his Counting-house', Defoe comes remarkably close to Freud's description of homosexual women's behaviour as *lärmend* (glaring), which Diana Fuss also translates as "riotous, noisy, unruly" [21]. Finally, his emphasis on sound questions a preceding passage in the *Essay* that will be examined later, which states that "Swearing ... seems to be a Masculine Vice, which the Women are not yet arriv'd to yet" [22]. Anxiety about belated plans thus introduces a text in which the time has not 'yet arriv'd', either for the *Essay*'s many schemes, or for female swearing, even though the latter statement is glaringly incorrect.

Defoe's struggle to control meaning in *An Essay Upon Projects* prompts a repeated throwing out and reining in of language. Projecting male needs, the Woman's Academy plays *fort / da* with the concept of individual liberty. Indeed, the project speaks of a "desire for the perfect woman" that, in Gordon's terms, "fulfills the death drive in promising an end to the search for sexual satisfaction", constructing what Green calls "an ideal situation" in ways that insurance or road building schemes do not. For this idealized woman can be described as

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[20] Derwin, 'Naming Pains', p. 474.

[21] Diana Fuss, 'Freud's Fallen Women: Identification, Desire, and "A Case of Homosexuality in a Woman"', *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 6:1 (1993), 1-23, (p. 5).

[22] Defoe, *Of Academies*, *EP*, p. 247.

"an object which is never the cause of any frustration and, consequently, of any projection [...]."

> The subject has no project (to use the word in its most ordinary sense), because the object has anticipated it. There is also nothing to project in the more restricted sense of the word, because there is no frustration; therefore there is no aggression, since aggression arises from the need to release tension, and without frustration there is no tension. [23]

I have argued that Defoe's rhetoric displays deep-seated anxieties about woman, as both 'undesirable' and 'excessively desired', whose independence threatens the male economy of projection. Since his efforts to ease tension and frustration still contain aggression, the next section will examine how intertextual speculation inserts a silent feminine object beneath the fraternal narrative.

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[23] Gordon, 'Freud's "On the Antithetical Sense of Primary Words"', p. 183; Green, 'Projection', p. 87.

Of Banks

"*If I have Trespass'd upon any Person in the World, 'tis upon Your self*," Defoe's Preface to Dalby Thomas confessed, "*from whom I had some of the Notions about County Banks and Factories for Goods*". Whilst the French *trépasser* means to die, to trespass in English suggests sin, transgression of the law, and encroachment upon, or damage, to land [24]. The conceit of an intertextual step across, or beyond, also recalls the senior projector's early 1696 statement: "Land (and that only) is the immoveable in place, and durable Estate of the Kingdom, and the *primum Mobile* of all things therein, which feels the jarrings of all other Wheels" [25]. Considering how Defoe situated transgressive acts in his banking proposals, this section also evaluates music, which is, after mathematics, the *Essay*'s most consistent figurative presence.

Symbolizing agreement in the Preface, where Defoe wrote that "*to Dedicate a Book of Projects to a Person who had never concern'd himself to Think that way, would be like Musick to one that has no Ear*", it has been allied in his later writing to pre-lapsarian language, and thus with a unity no longer available [26]. At that stage, a reader would be unlikely to take a phrase such as 'no ear' literally. Nevertheless, the non-sense produced by Defoe's ellipsis catches the attention, and it remains undecidable whether the text or the dedication process is at issue. Further, when a price is later put on various lost limbs and body parts, the literal reading gains a certain legitimacy. Bearing in mind his influence on Defoe's style and outlook, Petty's reminder that "Mutilations suppose of Ears, Nose, &c." were then a penalty still "used for perpetual disgrace", adds another level of meaning to such a loss [27].

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[24] Defoe, 'The Preface', *EP*, p. iii; and see **trespass** and **trespasser**, *OED*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 487-8.

[25] Dalby Thomas, *Propositions for General Land Banks.* (816.m.10.(17)., pp. 2, fol., 1696), p. 1. For Thomas's links with Dr. Chamberlen's early 1690s Land Bank schemes, see Horsefield, *British Monetary Experiments*, p. 212.

[26] Defoe, 'The Preface', *EP*, p. ii; see Novak, 'Robinson Crusoe's Song on the 'Country Life' and Defoe's Knowledge of Music', *N&Q*, 273 (1992), 40-2, (p. 42), for the claim that Defoe believed "that the language of Adam and of those who lived before the flood was probably similar to the musical sounds of nature itself". Music, Novak argues, "plays a larger role in Defoe's writings than has previously been thought", yet *Heidenreich*, p. 138, lists only three titles under that heading.

[27] Petty, 'X. Of Penalties', *A Treatise of Taxes*, in *Economic Writings*, Vol. I, p. 67.

Stepping beyond Thomas, in 'Of the Multiplicity of Banks' Defoe stated that he knew "no way" for a banking system to utilize "a Real and a Supposititious Value both, and the Real always ready to make good the supposititious ... but by Land",

> which at the same time that it lies Transferr'd to secure the Value of every Bill given out, brings in a separate Profit to the Owner ; and this way no question but the whole Kingdom might be a Bank to it self, tho' no ready Money were to be found in it. [28]

Perhaps land was also Defoe's *'primum Mobile'*; yet, at this point, such a stance had ideological implications. For, though William wasn't much concerned about which financial institution prevailed, the Country party and the landed gentry had supported the Land Bank as part of a domestic policy that subordinated international objectives. Further, after the failed February 1696 assassination plot, the Junto Whigs succeeded in making any view that hinted at anti-Court sentiment seem treasonable and, in Dennis Rubini's words, were "to a considerable degree responsible for the Land Bank's failure" in August, 1696 [29]. Given the political tensions then connected to banking, placing these two essays first seems a deliberate reference to his anxiety about belatedness, and thus to question the validity of such proposals.

If 'supposititious' implied a sceptical reading of the projector's claim that 'the whole Kingdom might be a Bank to it self, tho' no ready Money were to be found in it', by contrast the second essay ends with an oddly flattering allusion to John Asgill's tract, *Several Assertions prov'd, in Order to Create another Species of Money than Gold and Silver.* Asgill was said

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[28] Defoe, 'Of the Multiplicity of Banks', *EP*, p. 66. See **supposititious**, *OED*, Vol. XVII, p. 265, "1. Put by artifice in the place of another; fraudulently substituted for the genuine thing ... hence pretended (to be what it is not), not genuine, spurious, false. ... 2. Pretended or imagined to exist; feigned, fictitious; fabulous, fancied, imaginary."

[29] Rubini, 'Politics and the Battle for the Banks, 1688-1697', *EHR*, 85 (1970), 693-714, esp. pp. 702-6, (p. 713).

to have "such strength of Argument, such clearness of Reason, such a Judgment, and such a Stile, as all the Ingenious part of the World must acknowledge themselves extremely Oblig'd to him". In the next paragraph, Defoe's projector claimed that the mere "sight" of this tract caused him to put "by all that had been written by me on that subject ; for I had much rather confess myself incapable of handling that point like him, than have convinced the World of it by my impertinence" [30]. Defoe had, however, earlier asserted, "I suppose no body will take this Discourse for an Invective against the Bank of *England* ;"

> I believe it is a very Good Fund, a very Useful one, and a very Profitable one : It has been Useful to the Government, and it is Profitable to the Proprietors ... [31]

If nobody could hear 'Invective', why even mention the issue? Defoe's supposition and denial is, of course, typical of his habitual strategy, throwing out a point only to retract it. In doing so, he replays the death drive's repressive logic, and indicates knowledge of the contradictions inherent in his double discussion of the rival banks. As R. W. Connell notes, "repression marks out qualitatively different parts of the human psyche" that "normally are in contradiction. Repression itself is a mechanism of contradiction" [32]. His advertised inability to 'handle the case' was, then, of itself slightly tongue in cheek, since John Briscoe, the better connected Land Bank projector, had accused Asgill of plagiary [33].

Illustrating the agrarian implications of Englishness, Asgill described "The Earth" as "the great Store-house of the World, where all the magazines of Life and Defence are kept sweet

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[30] Defoe, 'Of the Multiplicity of Banks', *EP*, p. 67.

[31] Defoe, 'Of Banks', *EP*, p. 43.

[32] R. W. Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), pp. 208-9.

[33] See John Briscoe, *A Discourse on the Late Funds of the Million-Act, Lottery-Act, and Bank of England ...* (518.f.62. pp. iii-iv. i-iv. 5-56, 4°, 1694); and Briscoe, *Mr John Asgill His Plagiarism Detected ; And his several Assertions ... proved to be taken out of Mr. Briscoe's Discourse ...* (1482.aaa.13. (2)., pp. 3-44, 4°, 1696).

and safe" [34]. In a circular manner attacked by Briscoe, he argued that the "common definition ... *That 'tis Money that buys Land*, is comprehensive of all the uses of it ; for whatever will buy Land will buy all Commodities."

> What we call Commodities is nothing but *Land severed from the Soil*: The Owners of the Soil in every Country have the sale of all Commodities of the Growth of that Country ; and consequently have the power of giving Credit in that Country, and therefore whatever they will accept for their Commodities is Money. [35]

The anti-Court and pro-Country implications of Asgill's project are, then, made absolutely plain, as is the primary status and role of the merchant, when he writes that "Man deals in nothing but Earth ; the Merchants are the Factors of the World, to exchange one part of the Earth for another : The King himself is fed by the labour of the Ox, and the Cloathing of the Army, and the Victualing of the Navy, must all be paid for to the Owner of the Soil, as the ultimate Receiver" [36]. These opinions are the subtext of Defoe's own approach, just as Asgill's attack upon the Bank of England had a lasting influence on his rhetorical technique. The main narative in 'Of Banks' is, for example, generally taken as a criticism of "the insults of goldsmiths", along with "a great many other sorts of brokers and money-jobbing artists, who all get a snip out of the merchant". Defoe's story begins:

> I my self have known a Gold-smith in *Lumbardstreet* Lend a Man 700 *l.* to pay the Customs of a hundred pipes of Spanish Wines. The wines were made over to him for security by bill

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[34] See John Asgill, *Several Assertions Proved, In Order to Create another Species of Money than Gold and Silver.* dated September 1696 (1482.aaa.13. (1)., pp. 1-85, 4°, 1696), pp. 18-9.
[35] Asgill, *Several Assertions Proved*, p. 21.
[36] Asgill, *Several Assertions Proved*, p. 21.

> of sale, and put into a cellar, of which the goldsmith kept the key ...

A narrative of disasters unfolds. The owner, who can bring in neither "Cooper" nor "Customer" without the Goldsmith's servant attending at "5 *s.* a day", is unable "to Sell or Deliver a Pipe of Wine out single, or Two or Three at a time, as he might have Sold them ; but on a word or two spoken amiss to the Goldsmith, *or which he was pleased to take so*, he would have none Sold, but the whole Parcel together ; by this usage the Goods lay on hand, and every Month the Money remain'd, the Goldsmith demanded a Guinea *per cent.* forbearance, besides the Interest" [37]. Finally, at the Goldsmith's order, the wine is sold at a considerable loss. "So 'tis manifest", Defoe ends his tale after a page of calculations,

> by the Extortion of this Banker, the poor Man lost the whole Capital with Freight and Charges, and made but 29 *l.* produce of a Hunder'd Pipes of Wine. [38]

In *Remarks on the Proceedings of the Commissioners ... For Establishing of a Land-Bank*, Asgill had mocked the Bank of England's interfering tendencies with the comment that "in truth, the Bank hath been rather serviceable to the Subjects than the Government, for if we reflect on the Proceedings of the Bank for this last six Months, we must take the People to be in their minority, and to have chosen the Bank for their Guardians". Continuing his ironic praise, Asgill found that "the cure of this ... desire of living above our Fortunes"

> is totally owing to the Bank, for their Pious and Paternal Care ought never to be forgotten, in diligently enquiring into Mens circumst-ances, when they came for their Money, *viz. What Family they had ?* what Children ? what servants ? and what other Necessary Expences they were obliged to

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[37] Defoe, 'Of Banks', *EP*, pp. 49-51.
[38] Defoe, 'Of Banks', *EP*, p. 53.

support, and supplyed them not according to their own extravagant demands, but with what was convenient for the Necessaries, not for the Luxury of Life. Now to do anything against the interest of these our Spiritual and Temporal Benefactors, must argue the highest ingratitude. But the Bank may be contented to run the same Fate with the Church, since it was as much the Intent of the Legislators to have but one Faith as one Bank.

39

In addition, his own later analogy with "a Goldsmith of *Lumbard-street*" surely suggests why Defoe inserted the wine merchant tale into an essay on banks:

> I leave with a Goldsmith 1000 *l.* he gives me his Note payable upon demand, I go to him six Months hence, and ask him for my Money, he tells me the Government was in great distress, and he lent them my Money ; I tell him I gave him no such Commission, but finding my self remediless, I ask him to allow me the Interest he receives, he refuses it ; I then ask him to give me his Bond, and Legal Interest, he refuses that ; I fancy if I should pull him by the Nose, I should be justified by most of those Gentlemen that are of another Opinion, in the case of the Bank of *England.* [40]

If Asgill justified nose pulling, Defoe's displacement of a harsher disgrace for his Bank of England merchant suggests his sense that, while no higher power could be invoked, the Land Bank's opponents couldn't benefit from music's harmonizing power. Having examined the transference from one writer to another, I want now to turn to the thirteenth of Asgill's *Several Assertions prov'd*, which stated that "*though this Improvement added to the present Value of Lands be unexpected, and surprizing*", it was "*never the less valuable, but rather the more admirable*". Asgill then drew an analogy with Man's primal Edenic state, where "he felt no

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[39] Asgill, *Remarks on the Proceedings of the Commissioners For putting in Execution The Act past last Sessions, For Establishing of a Land-Bank.* (104.d.56., pp. 1-45, 4°, 1696), pp. 12-3.
[40] Asgill, *Remarks on the Proceedings of the Commissioners*, pp. 38-9.

Appetite in himself, but what had a suitable Object to gratifie it. And yet all this while Man had within him"

> a dormant Affection, (which he did not know of) capable of a higher Enjoyment than all his other Appetites, and this lay concealed from him, 'till the Creator presented him with *his Female* ; who being an Object suited to that Affection, gave him the first feeling of it. Love is an Affection contracted by the Eye, and therefore 'till the Object was produced, the Affection lay dormant, ... therefore the *Fairest Aspect* of the Creation was presented to Man, after he had ended his Expectations of being entertained with any more Objects ... [41]

Defoe's two main fictional heroines differently enact analogies between human reproduction and capital growth to move between "a natural, self-limiting, 'moral' economy" and capitalism's "destructive energies" [42]. Although the *Essay* represses it, Asgill's specular identification here suggests that land remains for Defoe a feminized object associated with life, which may provide divinely authorized rewards when least expected. Returning now to this section's second theme, the first paragraph in 'Of the Multiplicity of Banks' supports an analogy between music and financial institutions, if not money *per se*:

> What is touch'd at in the foregoing part of this Chapter, refers to *One Bank-Royal*, to Preside, as it were, over the whole Cash of the Kingdom : But because some People do suppose this Work fitter for many Banks than for One ; I must a little consider that Head : And first, allowing those many banks cou'd without clashing maintain a constant Correspondence with one another, in passing each others Bills as Current from one to another, I know not but it might

41 Asgill, *Several Assertions Proved*, pp. 40-1.

42 Ann Louise Kibbie, 'Monstrous Generation: The Birth of Capital in Defoe's *Moll Flanders* and *Roxana*', *PMLA*, 110:5 (1995), 1023-34, (p. 1025).

> be better perform'd by Many, rather than One ; for as Harmony makes Musick in Sound, so it produces Success in Business. [43]

Horsefield here found Defoe "dubious" about more than one institution dealing with the nation's cash, since "the interests of the different banks would conflict" [44]. Certainly, arguing that "A *Civil War* among Merchants is always the Ruin of Trade", he seems to draw nearer to firm disagreement: "I cannot think a Multitude of Banks cou'd so consist with one another in *England*, as to join Interests, and uphold one another's Credit, without joining Stocks too ; I confess, if it cou'd be done, the Convenience to Trade wou'd be Visible" [45].

Yet these two paragraphs begin an unresolved antithesis between the practical and the impractical symbolized by music that, as the localized symptom of Defoe's *fort / da* rhetoric, repeats in 'The History of Projects' and elsewhere. Stating that he "need not go far back for the Original of the Practice", he declared

> I make no question but some considerable Discovery has been made in these latter Ages, and Inventions of Human Original produc'd, which the World was ever without before, either in whole, or in part; and I refer only to two Cardinal Points, the use of the Load-stone at Sea, and the use of Gunpowder and Guns; both which, as to the Inventing-part, I believe the World owes as absolutely to those particular Ages as it does the Working in Brass and Iron to *Tubal Cain*, or the Inventing of Musick to *Jubal* his Brother. [46]

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[43] Defoe, 'Of the Multiplicity of Banks', *EP*, pp. 57-8.
[44] Horsefield, *British Monetary Experiments*, p. 150.
[45] Defoe, 'Of the Multiplicity of Banks', *EP*, p. 58.
[46] Defoe, 'The History of Projects', *EP*, pp. 22-3.

Defoe's choice here differs significantly from Locke. For, probably owing to what Michael Ayres has called its greater "efficacy at saving people 'from the grave'", he had replaced gunpowder with quinine in the "trinity of discoveries" he used to exemplify "the value of rightly directed study of nature, not the haphazard course of that study in the past" [47]. Music, then, makes various metaphoric connections. To have no ear hints at criminality, yet a good ear may hear the music which unites individual male spheres of influence and knowledge. Second, by analogy with Ptolemaic theory, the inaudible music of the spheres organizes multiple bodies "without clashing". Thirdly, projector brothers invent both music and metal, the material of war, suggesting that the harmonising art must also be thought of in martial terms, as that which accompanies, and spurs on, acts of violence.

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[47] Michael Ayers, *Locke: Vol. I Epistemology* (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), p. 116.

Enfans Perdue

Without assessing its sincerity or 'truth', Defoe's praise of war was introduced as a symptom of the death drive. Since reality and fantasy are bound together, tracing symptomatic patterns makes more sense of the *Essay*'s apparent desire for an economy that will perpetuate, and profit from, increasingly proficient military activity. Thus, if his praise of military skill, especially "in conducting Armies, and in offensive Engines", symbolizes the partial superseding of "our Forefathers", from whom such things were "altogether conceal'd", his efforts to displace an anxious image of incipient national unity based on what Adam Smith would later call "the foundation" of Britain's "enormous debt" laid by William's war-making, return the politic body to a pre-mirror stage experience of fragmentation [48]. "I believe", Defoe ended his Military Academy proposals, "this wou'd be the Greatest,"

> the Gallantest, and the most Useful Foundation in the World. The *English* Gentry wou'd be the best qualifi'd, and consequently, best accepted abroad, and most useful at home of any people in the world ; and His Majesty shou'd never more be expos'd to the necessity of employing Foreigners in the Posts of Trust and Service in His Armies. [49]

Defoe's general enthusiasm and the diplomacy of 'expos'd to the necessity' repress divergences from William, who was commonly known to employ European troops with English money by choice, and had little interest in the sort of military training proposed here.

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[48] Adam Smith cited in Earl J. Hamilton, 'Origin and Growth of the National Debt in France and England', in Vol. II, *Studi in Onore di Gino Luzzato*, IV Vols (Milano: Giuffre, 1950), pp. 245-58, (p. 254); Defoe, '*Introduction*', *EP*, pp. 2-3.

[49] Defoe, *EP*, p. 277, repr. in *CEW*, p. 143.

England's Williamite army was, in essence, a larger version of the Restoration Stuart model. But, if the Brussels Military Academy had no rival in 1697, Defoe's proposal wasn't new. On 22 April, 1689, a clause had been suggested for inclusion in a "Bill for regulating hackney carriages" to establish an institution "under the care of five commissioners to be appointed by their Majesties", for instructing "young men in military exercises ... at reasonable rates" in or near the capital, "for want whereof great numbers are sent abroad, to the apparent hazard of their being perverted in their religion ... and great sums spent among foreigners" [50]. William's attitude to this plan, which collapsed when "the entire bill was 'laid aside' later in the year", went unrecorded. Yet he seemed "very little" concerned with the problem of widespread "corruption", unless it impinged on foreign policy objectives. Thus, if mutual indifference replaced an earlier atmosphere of mistrust, the army "did not", in John Childs' words, "fully recover its morale and confidence until Marlborough took command in 1701, banishing foreign generals and commanders-in-chief for good" [51].

Whilst Defoe seemed, then, to have other than Court interests at heart, away from the Academy itself his discussion divides between improvements in war and their effect on the anonymous or far off object, and the end result of warfare on those closer to home but still projected as 'out there', and different. After declaring the importance of war, the *Essay*'s Introduction asked the reader to "*witness* the new ways of Mines, Fougades, Entrenchments, Attacks, Elodgments, and a long *Et Cetera* of New Inventions which want Names, practised in Sieges and Encampments", and continued in a tone verging on hysteria that would also be heard later in *The Consolidator*'s description of Peter the Great's military achievements. Defoe's projector again called his audience to "*witness* the new sorts of Bombs and unheard-of Mortars, of Seven to Ten Ton Weight,"

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50 Cited from John Childs, *The British Army of William III, 1689-1702* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 54.
51 Childs, *British Army*, pp. 52-3.

> with which our Fleets, standing two or three Miles off at Sea, can imitate God Almighty himself, and rain *Fire and Brimstone* out of Heaven, as it were, upon Towns built on the firm Land ; *witness also* our new-invented *Child of Hell*, the Machine, which carries Thunder, Lightning, and Earthquakes in its Bowels, and tears up the most impregnable Fortifications. [52]

Imitating 'God Almighty' describes a crucial moment in the birth of the subject. For, as Etienne Balibar writes, "the 'subject', for the first time bearing that name in the *political* field where it (he) is subjected *to* the sovereign, the lord, ultimately the Lord God, in the *metaphysical* field necessarily *subjects himself to himself* or, if you like, performs his own subjection" [53].

At this point, then, God is identified as the counterpart Master who legitimates the death drive's excessive violence whilst man, in attempting to imitate his punitive role, fulfils the oedipal narrative of supplanting forefathers. Further, if the literal sense of 'impregnable Fortifications' comes first, figurative links to feminine chastity complicate this baptism of fire. And if '*Fire and Brimstone*' suggests standard fulminations against the wicked, Defoe's ironic line can be detected when it is recalled that the Psalms specifically decreed this fate for those who, like his projector, "loveth violence" [54]. Metaphorizing the death drive as 'the Machine' consolidates an agenda of challenge and subjection, one that works in part through the antithesis of land and sea, lodging itself in the symbolic life of sailors. The only *Essay* subjects that merit two sections, these "are Fellows that"

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[52] 'Introduction', *EP*, pp. 3-4.

[53] Étienne Balibar, 'Subjection and Subjectivation', in *Supposing the Subject*, ed. by Joan Copjec (London and New York: Verso, 1994), pp. 1-15, (p. 10).

[54] See **impregnable**, *OED*, Vol. VII, p. 737, definition 2. *fig.*, cites Marston from 1602, "I find them wondrous chaste, Impregnable"; *Psalms*, 11: 5-6, "The LORD trieth the righteous: but the wicked and him that loveth violence his soul hateth. / Upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest".

> bid Defiance to Terror, and maintain a constant War with the Elements; who by the Magick of their Art, Trade in the very confines of Death, and are always posted within shot, as I may say, of the Grave:

If Chapter 1 has already examined Defoe's personal response to confinement, as "*Enfans Perdue*" his "*Forlorn hope of the World*" symbolize their lost state by trading in death's 'confines' [55]. The latter of these virtually interchangeable identifications has a link with "losers at a gaming-table" that suggests a connection between sailors and the melancholia and masochism of deferral in Defoe's gaming Preface [56]. Further, arguing that Defoe's description of the Whig banker, Sir Robert Clayton, as "Unsatisfied as death, and greedy as the Grave", echoes key metaphors in the discourse of usury, Kibbie compares the sea which can never be filled, to the grave and barren womb. "Barrenness, whether that of the sterile womb or of money,"

> is associated with all consuming desire. For both the woman and the usurer, barrenness permits desire separated from a natural, self-limiting system of generation, a prospect as threatening as the possibility of unlimited fecundity. [57]

If woman supplied an implicit identification with land in 'Of Banks', she is absent from Defoe's watery grave. Lacanian castration, notes Ragland-Sullivan, is a metaphor for "the psychic impact of loss, difference, and individuation," and particularly the infant's "traumatic" loss of the mother as "unifying focus", without reference to "biological

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[55] Defoe, 'Introduction', *EP*, pp. 3-4; *Of Seamen*, *EP*, p. 124.

[56] See *OED*, Vol. VI, **forlorn**, and **forlorn hope**, (pp. 77-8), on **forlorn** cites "*forlorn boys* (= Fr. *enfants perdus*) *fellows*, etc.: men who perform their duty at the imminent risk of their life". Further, **forlorn hope** has an etymology all its own, the Dutch, *verloren hoop*, lit. 'lost troop'. Sailors themselves altered the phrase to 'flowing hope'. *Gaya's Art of War* (1678): "Called the Forlorn Hope, because they ... fall on first, and make a passage for the rest." Dekker is cited (1608): "They that sit downe to play, are at first called Leaders. They that loose, are the Forlorn Hope." At around 1700, a canting dictionary simply makes the phrase mean, "losing gamesters."

[57] Kibbie, 'Monstrous Generation', p. 1029, who quotes from Defoe, *Reformation of Manners*. Further, "the essential unnaturalness of both acts" conflates "scholastic objections to sodomy" with those to usury, pp. 1030-1.

emasculation in any literal or natural sense" [58]. Thus, an unconscious logic can be seen at work when Defoe, discussing insurance for seamen, breaks down the human body to give it economic value as lost parts, equivalents of blood and treasure. The tension between Defoe's religious position, which would see life insurance, "illegal in almost every European country except England", as near to blasphemy, since it "almost always consisted of a wager on the life of a third person", and an emergent capitalist process that constructs the human subject as a unit of profitability, shows itself in the resemblance between his various tabled calculations and political arithmetic's use of statistical procedures which devalue other than economic relations [59].

Having traced the death drive's presence in Defoe's subject matter and mode of expression, the allegorical conflict reaches its climax in the table drawn up to support the insurance scheme. For, reading down the list which sets each limb or organ beside its financial equivalent constructs a narrative of the body's fragmentation. "A numerical indicator", however, "will be more than a mute statistic in the sense that it involves the *use* of data to interpret, prescribe, or prognosticate. In the process of use, boundaries between 'raw' data and the sense of reality that they stand in for as operational counterparts become blurred" [60]. So, in addition to the representation of injured sailors as fragmented bodies, the table refashions money as what A. M. Endres would call an 'operational counterpart':

For the loss of an eye	.	.	.	£ 25, or £ 2	per annum for life.
" " both eyes	.	.	.	£100 " 8	"
" " one leg	.	.	.	£ 50 " 4	"
" " both legs	.	.	.	£ 80 " 6	"

[58] Ragland-Sullivan, *Lacan and the Philosophy*, p. 55.

[59] Daston, *Classical Probability*, pp. 165-6: "So strong was the association between premium life insurance and wagering that Defoe, the great advocate of insurance projects, refused to countenance it altogether."

[60] A. M. Endres, 'The Functions of Numerical Data in the Writings of Graunt, Petty, and Davenant', *HOPE*, 17 (1985), 245-64, (p. 245).

"	"	right hand . . .	£ 80 "	6 "	"
"	"	left hand . . .	£ 50 "	4 "	"
"	"	right arm . . .	£100 "	8 "	"
"	"	left arm . . .	£ 80 "	6 "	"
"	"	both hands . . .	£160 "	12 "	"
"	"	both arms . . .	£200 "	16 "	"

Any broken arm, or leg, or thigh, towards the cure, £ 10.
If taken by the Turks, £ 50 towards his ransom.
If he become infirm, and unable to go to sea or maintain himself, by age or sickness, £ 6 per annum.
To their wives, if they are killed or drowned, £ 50. [61]

Defoe's table deconstructs the Imaginary delusion of the complete body which denies the threat of "psychic fragmentation", its tale of substitution or equivalence moving the death drive "beyond biology" into the economic system. Thus, if the "unsymbolized Imaginary" gains access to a new way of representing "metaphorical death", the final event is a return to the woman of a sum that symbolizes her lost husband, but which is, at another level, an equivalent to one leg or to his left hand, or the money made available to the Turks [62]. The next section now turns to look at other forms of debt, exchange, and translation in Defoe's Babelian approach to blasphemy and language.

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61 Defoe, *EP*, 'Of Seamen', p. 129, as repr. in *CEW*, p. 84.
62 Ragland-Sullivan, *Philosophy of Psychoanalysis*, p. 150.

writing like themselves

Marking Defoe's attempt to make a name by speculation, *An Essay Upon Projects* shows the conflict between unifying and fragmenting forces in his rhetoric. The war against swearing and language correction, to be authorized in this case by an institution like France's "Celebrated Academy", were common enough seventeenth and eighteenth century concerns. Defoe's ambiguous schemes are, however, full of contradictions. Thus, his claim that William, whose first language was Dutch, could find no better "Opportunity to illustrate his Memory", and "darken the Glory of the *French* King in Peace, as he has ... in the War", than by supporting a similar "Foundation", undergoes a witty deconstruction, as England is said to "want indeed a *Richlieu* to commence such a Work" [63]. The image of suspension that the Preface linked to masochistic anxieties about misrepresentation and punishment here shows itself to be also an act of negation. The society's "Exercises wou'd", Defoe asserts, "be Lectures on the *English* Tongue, Essays on the Nature, Original, Usage, Authorities and Differences of Words, on the Propriety, Purity, and *Cadence of Stile*, and of the Politeness and *Manner* in Writing;"

> Reflections upon Irregular Usages, and Corrections of Erroneous Customs in Words ; and in short, every thing that wou'd appear necessary to the bringing our *English* Tongue to a due Perfection, and our Gentlemen to a Capacity of Writing like themselves [64].

Replacing Latin with a common language, Baconian projects to advance inter-national trade and religious concord were often seen as attempts to remedy "the confusion at *Babel*" by enabling "every one", in John Wilkins' words, to express "his own meaning by the same

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[63] Defoe, *Of Academies*, *EP*, pp. 228-31.
[64] Defoe, *Of Academies*, *EP*, p. 237.

kind of Character" [65]. Equating it with Babylon and "the beginning" of Nimrod's "kingdom", John Milton had linked Babel to kings and the Catholic Church. For Robert Filmer, by contrast, it was God's punishment on those who unsettled Adamic monarchy and, after the Restoration, Babel usually symbolized low babble, nonsense, or non-meaning [66]. Dryden, then, wrote that "*Babel* was never half so much confus'd" as the non-conforming churches, a view Swift often repeated [67]. Legitimating the king as one whose "role is to create a public sytem of moral rules out of a moral vacuum", Hobbes lessened the implications of the idea that language was God's "gift to man" by suggesting that "God only initiated Adam into the naming process" [68]. At its simplest, Babel was a figure of humbled pride, built "that men might make war on God", and its implications for building, unity, and dispersal, extend throughout the *Essay* [69].

Whilst Defoe's first readers would have known some, perhaps even all, of these views, his discusssion of the tower as a project is notably devoid of any exact sociopolitical associations. Later, I consider Defoe's response to Babel in Lacanian terms. First, however, I want to examine its myth of incompletion, as traced by Jacques Derrida from the experience of architectural and verbal confusion to how God both "imposes and opposes his name" by means of an ambiguous paternal negation. "Translation", he initially concludes, "becomes law, duty and debt, but the debt one can no longer discharge."

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65 John Wilkins, *Mercury, or the Secret and Swift Messenger* (1641), p. 106, cited by Sharon Achinstein, 'The Politics of Babel in the English Revolution', *PS*, 14:3 (1991), 14-44, (p. 14).

66 Achinstein, 'The Politics of Babel', p. 26, and see pp. 22-3; *Genesis*, 10. 9-10.

67 John Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther*, Pt. 2, l. 470, in *The Works of John Dryden*, General Ed. H. T. Swedenberg, Vol. III (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), p. 153; for Swift and Babel, see Daniel Eilon, *Factions' Fictions: Ideological Closure in Swift's Satire* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1991), pp. 21-31.

68 Watkins, *Hobbes's System of Ideas*, p. 99. Hobbes, *Leviathan: or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiaticall and Civil*, ed. and intro. by Michael Oakeshott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1946), p. 18.

69 Eilon, *Factions' Fictions*, p. 26.

> Such insolvency is found marked in the very name of Babel: which at once translates and does not translate itself, belongs without belonging to a language and indebts itself to itself for an insolvent debt, to itself as if other. Such would be the Babelian performance. [70]

Defoe's project of 'Writing like themselves' proposes a male relationship to writing, as opposed to mere speech, which marks it as an absolute identification. At one level, the projector's aim seems to be merely one of improved self-expression, but the use of 'like' creates an analogy between writing and unitary selfhood which is doubled by the 'Gentlemen' being also an imitation of 'themselves'. Warning of '*Civil War* among Merchants', and using the cultural myth from *Genesis* 11, Defoe's projector also repeated those failed visions with an important difference. For, whilst stressing the need to correct English, Latin remains the point of reference. Acts of translation, then, locate the other language as both a consciously sought stable authority, and are involved in negating the death that results from projections of violence. Yet translation, cited by Defoe as the method of showing non-sense in language, reveals more than he authorizes. Further, the insolvency which any Babelian performance reveals, and which must always deconstruct the sort of plain English tactic noted in Chapter 1, subverts Defoe's metaphoric comparison between neologistic acts and the capital crime of coining money.

An equally relevant analogy, one that introduces the link between typographical error and sin, can be found in John Dunton's comment that "were I to correct the *Errata*'s of my short Life, I would quite alter the Press" [71]. Exploring the link between behavioural errors and what he calls "sinning against language", Jean-Jacques Lercercle argues that the pleasure

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[70] Derrida, 'Des Tours de Babel', trans. by Joseph F. Graham, in *Difference in Translation*, ed. and intro. by Graham (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1985), pp. 165-205, (pp. 174-5).
[71] John Dunton cited from J. Paul Hunter, 'The Insistent I', *Novel*, 13 (1979), 19-37, (p. 33).

gained from these verbal misdemeanours derives from the fact that "the violence we impose on its structure is what makes it alive."

> A solecism is not so much an aberration from the rules of universal grammar or the grammar of English as a (potential) anticipation of the evolution of structures, the 'universality' of which is strictly historical. [72]

Lercercle's view also helps to see the violence within a pleasurable solecism as an expression of the death drive's double role in language's exchange system. For, if verbal acquisition is mastered through potentially unpleasurable repetition, the individual errors which may be both intended and unconscious illustrate the drive's urge to fragment a system rather than unite its parts. Before continuing, then, I want to show the insolvent debt of translation at work beyond Defoe's own 'Conclusion'. Denying "Infallibility", Defoe states that he was "not yet convinc'd of any Errors of Opinion". In many ways a conventional move, his farewell nevertheless oscillates from aggressive assertion to defensiveness:

> Neither do I think but that all men will acknowledge most of the Proposals in this Book would be of as great, and perhaps greater Advantage to the Publick, than I have pretended to. [73]

The double negative and the phrase 'all men' may be common rhetorical strategies for empowerment. As the projection of Lacan's delusion of the unified body politic by which the speaker seeks mastery, the latter ploy also states an implicitly Babelian trajectory, from when "the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech" [74].

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[72] Jean-Jacques Lecercle, *The Violence of Language* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 10.
[73] Defoe, *EP*, 'The Conclusion', p. 335.
[74] *Genesis*, 11. 1.

Defoe has "little to say" to those "who read Books only to find out the Author's *faux Pas*", yet this procedure informs his approach to swearing and speech. Reflecting that he thought he "had corrected" the text "very carefully", Defoe notes that he has been "careful to make it speak *English* suitable to the Manner of the Story ... chusing rather to have it Free and Familiar, according to the Nature of *Essays*, than to strain at a Perfection of Language, which I rather wish for, than pretend to be Master of." The final part of the self-corrective process moves beyond the *F I N I S* to the brief ERRATA section which also retains its Latin identification, and which selects only one instance of verbal change from a text riddled with errors: "INtroduction, Page 3. Line 7. for *Elodgements* read *Lodgments*". Tellingly, the nonsense word strongly echoes the Latinate 'eloge', from *elogium*, a prayer for the dead [75]. Thus, through a process of translation from one language to another, which is at the same time the partial release of repressed material negation allows, the architectural structures designed to promote 'new ways' of warfare translate into sites of mourning.

Were Defoe's plans accepted, "*Custom*, which is now our best Authority for Words, wou'd always have its Original here, and not be allow'd without it."

> There shou'd be no more occasion to search for Derivations and Constructions, and 'twou'd be as Criminal then to *Coin Words, as Money.* [76]

This materialist and idealized programme bases the 'Original' of 'Custom', what generally occurs in speech, on a body whose "Reputation ... wou'd be enough to make them the allow'd Judges of Stile and Language" [77]. Whilst, then, the project to control language like money reveals itself as inherently rhetorical and ungrounded, Defoe's ideological metaphor

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[75] Defoe, *EP*, 'The Conclusion', pp. 335-6; see **eloge, 2.**, and **elogium**, *OED*, Vol. V, p. 146.
[76] Defoe, *Of Academies*, *EP*, pp. 236-7; see **coin**, *OED*, Vol. III, pp. 454-5.
[77] Defoe, *Of Academies*, *EP*, p. 237.

plays off powerful figures such as the merchant conversing from his counting-house against the poor of implicitly few words. Yet repetition also shifts the sense of 'allow'd', underlining that this judicial power depends on 'Reputation', a product of Custom.

The economic metaphor presents, then, an ambivalent relationship between law and criminal acts pointing to common ground between blasphemy's "exchange transaction", where "what is at stake is community and identity formation", and Defoe's rhetoric which frequently says that which, as propaganda, it should not [78]. Such contradictions suggest the relationship posited by Lawton, who argues that the theme of exchange goes beyond metaphor, and that an unconscious "homology rather than a mere analogy", though denied by orthodoxy, exists "between linguistic exchange and economic exchange". To take one instance of a public trial conducted only months after the *Essay*'s publication, during Susannah Fowles' May 1698 prosecution, she and "her keepers" were, within this argument, "joined together not merely by blasphemy, but by debt", since "her accusers" were "also her creditors" [79].

Further, the status of what the projector presents as just an analogy between money and language can be evaluated in the light of Hobbes' claim that it was not "possible without letters for any man to become either excellently wise, or, unless his memory be hurt by disease or ill constitution of organs, excellently foolish. For words are wise men's counters, they do but reckon by them; but they are the money of fools, that value them by the authority of an Aristotle, a Cicero, or a Thomas, or any other doctor whatsoever, if but a man" [80].

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[78] Lawton, *Blasphemy*, p. 21.
[79] Lawton, *Blasphemy*, pp. 17-23, (p. 21).
[80] Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 22.

Defoe did not extend the parallels with seventeenth century France, where Richlieu and Mazarin sought to divert a restless aristocracy with opera and ballet, yet the politics of language and music return in the same '*Of Academies*' section, where he claimed that women were "not yet arriv'd" to the "Masculine Vice",

> and I wou'd only desire those Gentlemen who practice it themselves, to hear a Woman swear : It has no Musick at all there, I am sure ; and just as little does it become any Gentleman. [81]

Susannah Fowles' story suggests that accusations of blasphemy and swearing might cover a multitude of perceived sins, and Defoe's discussion of how only education will calm difficult women also contradicts his claim that they 'are not yet arriv'd' to this 'Masculine Vice'. Nevertheless, this supposedly unrealized state of affairs brings women, however negatively, closer than men to the future tense in which projection exists. Defoe's scheme conflates two different verbal qualities, "a direct Signification of Words, or a *Cadence in Expression*," as a definition of "speaking *Sense*", which, "like Truth, is sullen and the same, ever was and will be so, in what manner, and in what Language soever 'tis express'd." But if sense is a universalizing notion comparable with the word of God, the final reflection that "*Words* without *Sense* make but dull Musick", constructs something of a paradox [82].

For, whilst 'sullen' might still connote singularity or modesty, Defoe chose to describe 'Truth' with a word more likely to suggest ill humour, or dullness. Very much a double term, then, sense was already a part of Defoe's attack on the "Inundation Custom has made upon our Language and Discourse by *Familiar Swearing*". Identifying 'Custom' with a

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81 Joe Allard, 'Music in the Enlightenment', in *The Enlightenment and its Shadows*, ed. by Peter Hulme and Ludmilla Jordanova (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 49-65, (pp. 58-9); Defoe, *Of Academies*, *EP*, pp. 246-7.

82 Defoe, *Of Academies*, *EP*, p. 244; and see **sullen**, *OED*, Vol. XVII, pp. 154-5, and **solein**, *OED*, Vol. XV, p. 961.

flooding action brings in another example from *Genesis* of Man's designs being thwarted by God. In contrast to those who felt that swearing added "*Vigour*" to speech, Defoe argued that "there is nothing so Impertinent, so Insignificant, so Senseless and Foolish, as our vulgar way of Discourse, when mix'd with Oaths and Curses". Thus, he asked discerning readers "to put into Writing"

> the Common-Places of their Discourse, and read them over again, and examine the *English,* the *Cadence,* the *Grammar* of them; then let them turn them into *Latin,* or translate them into any other Language, and but see what a *Jargon* and Confusion of Speech they make together. [83]

Given his opposition to vulgarity here, Defoe's often used identification, between what he described as the common people's actions during the Civil War, "all tumult, army, and rabble," and the workings of a flood, is worth noting. Finding "their violence ... equal on the nation as on the person of the king", the Preface to *Jure Divino* commented:

> It was an unaccountable torrent, like a flood from the sea driven upon the land by some strong tempest, which, when it has forced its way over the all bounds, and broke down all the legal banks and opposition, drowns the country, and many innocent people are destroyed by the violence of it ; but when it has spent its force, returns with the like fury and impetuosity, and at last ends in its native ocean ; and so did this. [84]

Dismissing the idea that swearing is "sinful and unlawful, as forbid by Divine Rules", Defoe satirizes the Parson for saying "much to ... little purpose". Calling "*Swearing*, that Lewdness of the Tongue, that Scum and Excrement of the Mouth", Defoe's point, that "it makes a

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83 Defoe, *Of Academies*, *EP*, pp. 238-9; see *Genesis*, 9. and **inundation**, *OED*, Vol. VIII, p. 33.

84 Defoe, 'Preface', *JD*, repr. in *The Works of Daniel Defoe, with a Memoir of His Life and Writing*, ed. by William Hazlitt, 3 Vols (John Clements, 1840-43), Vol. III, pp. vi-vii.

man's Conversation *unpleasant*, his Discourse *fruitless*, and his Language *Nonsense*", hints at a parallel between authorized religion's spokesmen, and those whose discourse becomes "*Impertinent*" through "long *Parentheses* of Imprecations". There is, however, another parallel, between his own contradictory meaning and swearing which, "forming" no "Argument, ... appears to be *Nonsense* by the Contradictoriness" [85].

Before continuing with the projector's treatment of swearing, I want to look at how its description as 'Confusion of Speech' refers back to his earlier discussion of how God halted Babel's construction. Built by "People of the Old World", the tower neverthless became an image of modern culture. Defoe explains this by noting that, as "a vast Undertaking, too big to be manag'd, and therefore likely enough to come to nothing", it fulfilled the "Modern" definition of "a Right Project". If they "cou'd have Built a House up to Heaven," he concluded, "they shou'd never be Drown'd again on Earth, and they only had forgot to Measure the Heighth, *that is*, as in other Projects, it only Miscarri'd, or else, 'twould have Succeeded". Nevertheless, the tower's "incredible Heighth" demonstrated "vast Knowledge of that Infant-Age of the World, who had no advantage of the Experiments or Invention of any before themselves" [86]. Defoe's verse repetition of the Babel theme is structured by the dual terms success / failure, or fruitful / fruitless:

> *Thus when our Fathers touch'd with Guilt,*
> *That* Huge Stupendious Stair-Case *Built* ;
> *We Mock indeed the fruitless Enterprize,*
> *For fruitless Actions seldom pass for Wise* ;
> *But were the* Mighty Ruins *left, they'd show,*
> *To what Degree that Untaught Age did Know.* [87]

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[85] Defoe, *Of Academies*, *EP*, pp. 239-40, p. 245; see **excrement** [1], and **excrement** [2], *OED*, Vol. V, p. 513.
[86] Defoe, 'The History of Projects', *EP*, p. 20-1.
[87] Defoe, 'The History of Projects', *EP*, p. 22.

If this image avoids the sociopolitical implications discussed earlier, it nevertheless suggests that the fathers 'touch'd with Guilt' challenge God and seek to promote a single language that would thus resemble the singleness of sense or truth. Further, Defoe's treatment separates what had become a fundamental image of modernity from its cultural myth of how a non-human force of negation instituted the experience of non-sense, or the language of the unconscious, that aspect of human identity which knows no such limitation.

Defoe returns to recognisably religious territory when he describes cursing as "Folly acted for the sake of Folly, which is a thing even the Devil himself don't practice". Yet, if Henry Hooton's *A Bridle for the Tongue* would later define blasphemy in 1709 as "speaking any evil Thing of God, making War with Heaven itself, and flying as it were in the Face of the Almighty" [88]—a characterization that comes close to Defoe's description of the 'Art of War'—the *Essay* still suppresses the full implications of a religious perspective:

> The Devil does evil, we say, but it is for some design, either to seduce others, or, as some Divines say, from a Principle of Enmity to his Maker ... and generally all Vices have some previous Cause, and some visible Tendency; but this, of all Vicious Practices, seems the most Nonsensical and Ridiculous; there is neither Pleasure nor Profit; no Design pursued, no Lust gratified, but is a mere Frenzy of the Tongue, a Vomit of the Brain, which works by putting a Contrary upon the Course of Nature. [89]

In comparison, the 1697 *Discourse Against Swearing*'s assurance that "numerous Oaths increase no other *Treasures* but those of *Divine Wrath*", suggests how the projective echoes in 'Vomit of the Brain' mark an exchange economy of negative accumulation. Defoe invokes

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[88] Hooton cited in Lawton, *Blasphemy*, pp. 14-5.
[89] Defoe, *Of Academies*, *EP*, pp. 247-8.

identification with the Devil, and agrees with the author of the *Discourse* that "No *passion* of human Nature seems gratify'd by this sin," yet he also refuses to accept the *Discourse*'s description of swearing as a deliberate "*malignity* and *despight* against the blessed God himself", tantamount to "a real *pollution* of his glorious and adorable Name", which "seems to serve the Devil for *nought* and to be *wicked* for meer *wickedness* sake" [90]. Yet the Babelian project's confusion, which typifies the unconscious in its incompletion and ability to provoke outrage, also suggests the negation at work in Defoe's description of what swearing meant to him. For "[s]acrilegious speech is", Octave Mannoni notes, "already guilty, and he who utters it finds no safety in conscious innocence" [91].

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[90] *A Discourse Against Profane Swearing and Cursing, Wherein I. Those Vices are describ'd and reprov'd.* ... Imprimatur on TP dated August 2. 1697 (Dublin: 4377.cc.12., pp. 1-36, 4°, 1698), pp. 7-18.

[91] Octave Mannoni, 'Writing and Madness: *Schreber als Schreiber* (Schreber as Writer)', in *Psychosis and Sexual Identity: Toward a Post-Analytic View of the Schreber Case*, ed. by David B. Allison, and others (Albany: SUNY Press, 1988), pp. 43-60, (p. 48); and see n. 7, "... in the progress of each individual (as perhaps in that of humanity) *sacred speech* disintegrates in stages, first in the faith of myth, then in the myth of fiction." (p. 60).

more Tongues than one

In 1705 Defoe bluntly described his wife Mary as "my faithfull Steward". Earlier, 'An Academy for Women' had wished that women might be not "only Stewards of our Houses, *Cooks and Slaves*", yet that 'only' proposed expanded possibilities without cancelling the trinity of identifications Defoe seems to challenge [92]. Having looked at the parts that women are assigned in relation to land, music, and blasphemy, this last section now turns to consider how the delirious images of increase and economic profit that are limited by a narrative of injury, loss of life and limb, come together in the overdetermined word, breeding, which in turn links certain antithetical pairs, such as visible / invisible or fruitful / fruitless.

"I know", claims the projector, "'tis dangerous to make Publick Appearances of the Sex", but since confinement will "disagree with their Inclinations" and exposure "with their Reputations", the matter is presented as "somewhat difficult". If what Anthony Fletcher called the "discourse of containment dominated men's thinking about the education of girls" at this time, 'Publick Appearances' suggests both the surface of things and crimes detected, as it brings together the antithesis visible / invisible [93]. Confinement illogically precedes exposure in a figure of reversal that plays on the inherent ambiguity of 'Appearances', and the recognition that 'Publick' can be read as part of a verb phrase (make Publick), or as qualifying the following word, increases this indeterminacy.

> I doubt a Method propos'd by an Ingenious Lady, in a little Book, call'd *Advice to the Ladies*, would be found impracticable. For, saving my Respect to the Sex, the Levity,

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92 Defoe, 'Letter 39. *To* Robert Harley. *30 July 1705*', in *LDH*, pp. 94-6, (p. 96); Defoe, 'An Academy for Women', *EP*, p. 302.

93 Defoe, 'An Academy for Women', *EP*, p. 285; Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 375; and see **appearance**, *OED*, Vol. I, p. 566.

> which perhaps is a little peculiar to them, at least in their Youth, will not bear the Restraint ; and I am satisfi'd, nothing but the heighth of Bigotry can keep up a Nunnery: [94]

Whereas Defoe left his intertextual naming of Asgill until last, introducing Mary Astell's work without fully identifying her suggests another strategy at work. As will be seen, Defoe subverts some of her metaphors so that they devalue, rather than encourage, women. Similarly, the voyeuristic scene provided to explain why some might chose to enter a Nunnery, depicts women in sexually weighted acts of self-harm:

> Women are extravagantly desirous of going to Heaven, and will punish their *Pretty Bodies* to get thither ; but nothing else will do it ; and even in that case sometimes it falls out that *Nature will prevail.* [95]

This fantasy may provide some male readers with a certain sadistic pleasure, at the same time it speciously justifies regulating what is seen as women's perverse desire. "The Persons who Enter ... *this House*" are, then, to be saved from themselves. Temporarily suspending the question of gender, Defoe totalizes women as 'the Sex', a definition which erases any notion of individuality, who

> shou'd be taught all sorts of Breeding suitable to both their Genius and their Quality; and in particular, *Musick* and *Dancing*, which it wou'd be cruelty to bar the Sex of, because they are their Darlings : But besides this, they shou'd be taught Languages, as particularly *French* and *Italian* ; and I

[94] Defoe, 'An Academy for Women', *EP*, pp. 285-6.
[95] Defoe, 'An Academy for Women', *EP*, p. 286.

> wou'd venture the Injury of giving a Woman more Tongues than one. [96]

Though Defoe's support for '*Musick* and *Dancing*' was unoriginal, banning them is presented as 'cruelty ... because they are their Darlings'. Locke prescribed dancing, however, to ensure that girls had "fashion and easy comely motion", thus making clear the stake men had in upholding such a contestable point. Further, if Defoe's 'Quality' marks out rank, nature, and character, its sense of greater or lesser conformability to type also suggests the projecting of men's desire as women's wishes [97]. For her part, Astell had reflected, that "'Twill not be near so advantageous to consult with your Dancing Master as with your own Thoughts" [98].

Speaking European languages was seen as an appropriate cultural accomplishment for women. Yet, identifying young women in particular as possessed of a 'Levity' that 'will not bear the Restraint', Defoe reflected misogynist middle and upper class male prejudices when he generalized that women who were passionate, and thus untrustworthy, could not make strong choices about sexual practice [99]. Noting his emphasis on the profit in educating women, Cynthia Wall argues that the projector, first "exposing and then allaying masculine anxieties", banters the reader into valuing true discourse with women "unable to talk", because "they have not been allowed to think" [100]. Any fear of real dialogue that support for continued educational restrictions might certainly imply wasn't, however, found only among men. Reading Defoe's strategy as one primarily designed to bridge gaps may not,

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[96] Defoe, 'An Academy for Women', *EP*, p. 292.

[97] See **quality**, *OED*, Vol. XII, pp. 973-5; Locke cited in Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, p. 364.

[98] Mary Astell, *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, For the Advancement of their True and Greatest Interest. In Two Parts. By a Lover of her Sex* (1388.a.4., pp. 3-111, + i-iv. 1-298, 12°, 1697), p. 6.

[99] Defoe, 'An Academy for Women', *EP*, p. 292.

[100] Cynthia Wall, '"Her Conversation Heavenly": Defoe's Architectural Dialogues and the Academy for Women', in *Compendious Conversations: The Method of Dialogue in the Early Enlightenment*, ed. by Kevin L. Cope (Frankfurt : Peter Lang, 1992), pp. 237-48, (pp. 241-2).

then, fully explain the harshness and the figures of contradiction that combine with an evasiveness found elsewhere in the *Essay*. Finally, the projective idealization of the 'right' woman which was discussed at the outset suggests that his strategy here perpetuates the gap between two sets of identifications.

Class associations aside, breeding was the term central to late seventeenth century male attitudes to female worth, when its ambiguous mobility stressed the relevance of a desire to conform. Discussing the lessons in "breeding" provided by the "fashionable" ladies' schools of Hackney and Putney, Fletcher states that this was the master signifier "when it came to employing new servants" [101]. Defoe, then, continued by declaring that women "shou'd, as a particular Study, be taught all the Graces of Speech, and all the necessary Air of Conversation; which our common Education is so defective in, that I need not expose it". Passing up the chance to 'expose' the defects of 'common Education' suggests a subject beneath satire. It is, however, also a defensive gesture that draws attention away from the lack of detail in the sentence's first half which suggestions of specificity (in 'particular'), inclusiveness, and realism (in the repeated 'all' and 'necessary'), fail to disguise. Advocating that women be taught airs and 'Graces' naturally posed little threat to men, and Defoe's further proposals remain extremely vague:

> They shou'd be brought to read Books, and especially History, and so to read as to make them understand the World, and be able to know and judge of things when they hear of them. [102]

The coercive tone now repeated in 'shou'd' might be taken as directed primarily towards a male audience reluctant to grant such privileges. Yet, as the contrast between the noisy and

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[101] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, p. 369.
[102] Defoe, 'An Academy for Women', *EP*, pp. 292-3.

active woman and the passive woman who just hears may indicate, even the correct identifications only have value 'when' their new understanding is useful to the male 'World'. Stressing the narrator's subsequent statement, that "To such whose Genius wou'd lead them to it, I wou'd deny no sort of Learning", would thus be misrepresentation when, aside from the implicit denials examined below, it precedes a more extensive reflection:

> but the chief thing in general is to cultivate the Understandings of the Sex, that they may be capable of all sorts of Conversation ; that their Parts and Judgments being improv'd, they may be as Profitable in their Conversation as they are Pleasant.
>
> Women, in my observation, have little or no difference in them, but as they are, or are not distinguish'd by Education. Tempers indeed may in some degree influence them, but the main distinguishing part is their Breeding. [103]

The above passage, then, begins an extended hymn of praise which echoes Asgill's comparison of land and women, for Defoe's "Woman of Sense and Manners is the Finest and most Delicate Part of God's Creation ; the Glory of her Maker, and the great Instance of his singular regard to Man, his Darling Creature, to whom he gave the best Gift either God could bestow, or man receive ... her Society is the Emblem of sublimer Enjoyments ... and the man that has such a one to his Portion, has nothing to do but to rejoice in her, and be thankful" [104].

Thus, if Brennan's fantasy of woman as the ultimate 'Emblem' of instant gratification declares itself in Defoe's 'nothing to do', replacing analogy with direct identification his educational proposal reveals itself as reinforcing relations predicated on the biblical

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[103] Defoe, 'An Academy for Women', *EP*, p. 293.
[104] Defoe, 'An Academy for Women', *EP*, pp. 292-3.

paradigm. In contrast, Astell had encouraged her women readers "to surpass the Men as much in Vertue and Ingenuity, as you do in Beauty, that you may not only be as lovely, but as Wise as Angels", her own idealization declaring its status as a figure of superiority [105]. Defoe now inserts the image of uneducated woman discussed earlier that, as Wall comments, "ratifies negative stereotypes" and "can only babble". Yet, if Defoe does suggest how restricted education ultimately also "punishes men", by publicizing behaviour which results from the lack of a "conversational voice", the implications behind this image's construction remain, in my opinion, negative [106].

Defoe had stated that uneducated women had 'little or no difference in them', thus implying that male authorized 'Education' produced individuality. The two basic identifications made when concluding the breeding motif are, then, worth looking at in some detail:

> Methinks Mankind for their own sakes, since say what we will of the Women, we all think fit one time or other to be concern'd with 'em, shou'd take some care to breed them up to be *suitable* and *serviceable*, if they expected no such thing as *Delight* from 'em. Bless us ! What Care do we take to Breed up a good Horse, and to Break him well ! and what a Value do we put upon him when it is done, and all because he shou'd be fit for our use ! and why not a Woman? Since all her Ornaments and Beauty, without suitable Behaviour, is a Cheat in Nature, like the false Tradesman, who puts the best of his Goods uppermost, that the Buyer may think the rest are of the same Goodness. [107]

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[105] Astell, *A Serious Proposal*, p. 5.
[106] Wall, '"Her Conversation Heavenly"', p. 243.
[107] Defoe, 'An Academy for Women', *EP*, pp. 296-7.

The suggestion that men treat horses better than women can be read as merely a satiric gesture, yet the associations of Defoe's image don't support the view that obstinate men are just being bantered on their own terms. For horses, as Eberhard Späth records, became "a standard metaphor for the description of Africans" in this period, as in Mr. Review's assertion that the African trade was "in no way to be carried on but by Force; for a mere Correspondence with the Natives as Merchants, is as impracticable, as it would be if they were a Nation of Horses" [108].

In *An Essay Upon Projects* a similar set of associations cluster round the trade between genders. A woman, unlike the African, can be identified as a 'Tradesman'. Yet the word 'slave' lingers from before whilst the issue of 'Force', displaced into the process of making a horse 'suitable', links 'Breed' and 'Break', and thus points to the repressed agenda of breeding up woman. Commenting on Defoe's depiction of woman as merchant, Wall stays within his antithesis between the visible and that which is not, to conclude that an "uneducated woman necessarily depends upon the show window to attract customers; the educated fulfills her promise" [109].

This second image, however, reifies woman as both merchant and goods. Further, repeating Astell's own image, it reverses the roles of buyer and seller:

> 'Tis as little beneath your Grandeur as your Prudence, to examine curiously what is in this case offer'd you, and to take care that cheating Hucksters don't impose upon you with deceitful Ware. [110]

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[108] Eberhard Späth, 'Defoe and Slavery', in *Slavery in the Americas*, ed. by Wolfgang Binder (Wurzburg : Konigshausen & Neumann, 1993), 453-69, (p. 458), who cites Defoe, *Review*, Bk 13, No. 140, (p. 560).
[109] Wall, '"Her Conversation Heavenly"', p. 243.
[110] Astell, *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies*, p. 6.

Turning now to the Academy's visible character, Defoe's projector "*wou'd have built in a Form by it self, as well as in a Place by it self*". It is, thus, precisely the double paradigm of confinement and exposure that is at stake:

> The Building shou'd be of Three plain Fronts, without any Jettings, or Bearing-Work, that the Eye might at a Glance see from one Coin to the other ; the Gardens wall'd in the same Triangular Figure, with a large Moat, and but one Entrance.
>
> When thus every part of the Scituation was contriv'd as well as might be for discovery, and to render *Intrieguing* dangerous, I wou'd have no Guards, no Eyes, no Spies set over the Ladies, but shall expect them to be try'd by the Principles of Honour and strict Virtue. [111]

This Chapter concludes by exploring the Academy's architectural status further, its plain surface defined by a lack of projection, "Jettings, or Bearing-Work" [112]. For if a "belief in the Trinity" has been called "the operative fundamentalism" of Defoe's time, two relevant Elizabethan buildings suggest themselves as models for his oddly Academy: Sir Thomas Tresham's Triangular Lodge at Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire, and Longford Castle, Wiltshire, both designed by John Thorpe [113]. And, given the Lodge's links with recusant Catholicism, its possible use as a religious house, and the fact that J. Alfred Gotch described "the doctrine of the Trinity" as "the very essence" of this "expensive freak", Defoe may have intended to suggest the proximity of Astell's High Church beliefs and practices to Catholicism. But the Academy's key contradiction is that, proposed as '*a Form by it self, as well as in a Place by it self*, like the Lodge it would have been "a building so peculiar as to

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111 Defoe, 'An Academy for Women', *EP*, pp. 287-8.

112 See **jetting**, *OED*, Vol. VIII, p. 227. Finding no comparable triangular model before the mid-eighteenth century, Wall, '"Her Conversation Heavenly"', pp. 245-7, saw the architectural weakness and seemingly fictional status as prioritizing choice.

113 Lawton, *Blasphemy*, p. 129.

arrest the attention of even a superficial observer" [114]. Built by Sir Thomas Gorges, a favourite of Elizabeth, the history of Longford Castle's construction from 1580 echoes Defoe's earlier discussion of projecting in terms of Sir Francis Drake, and "Pieces of Eight, fish'd up out of the open Sea" [115]. For though, as Gotch wrote, "all Sir Thomas's money was swallowed up in the foundations, and the house", like Babel, "threatened to come to a premature end", after the Armada's defeat Sir Thomas's wife asked the Queen for a wrecked galleon which was found to hold "more than enough" treasure to finish building Longford [116].

Defoe's approach to projecting, as Peter Hulme noted, linked Sir William Phips's real Caribbean gold with Sir Walter Ralegh who, in Mary Fuller's words, "staked his life on ... the Guianan gold mines of which he had written so confidently ... and lost" [117]. Over and above the opposition of success and failure, the death drive, so intimately connected in Ralegh's case to the practice of writing, is situated at more than one level of projection's fantasy of absolute power. Finally, it should be noted that, if Ralegh returned to meet death at home, Defoe's allusions to Peruvian gold filter through *Jure Divino* and into his rhetoric of Union with Scotland.

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114 J. Alfred Gotch, *A Complete Account... of the Buildings Erected in Northamptonshire, by Sir Thomas Tresham ...* (B. T. Batsford, 1883), p. 30. My thanks to Dr. Simon Bradley for his expertise here.

115 Defoe, 'Introduction', *EP*, pp. 17-8.

116 Gotch, *Architecture of the Renaissance in England* ... 2 Vols (B. T. Batsford, 1894), Vol. I, pp. 19-22, (p. 20).

117 Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London and New York: Routledge, 1986), pp. 180-3, (p. 181); for Phips and Ralegh, see Defoe, *EP*, '*Introduction*', pp. 16-7; Mary C. Fuller, 'Ralegh's Fugitive Gold: Reference and Deferral in *The Discoverie of Guiana*', *Representations*, 33 (1991), 42-64, (p. 42).

3. *Fables*

> Truths are illusions which we have forgotten are illusions ... metaphors that have become worn out and drained of sensuous force, coins which have lost their embossing and are now considered as metal and no longer as coins. [1]

If fables still marked disapproval of soldiers in early 1699, London's theatre-goers might have seen a work far less bland than Peter Motteux's *Europe's Revels for the Peace* before the king's late 1697 return to England [2]. For, whilst Sir John Trenchard named tyrants who seized power for themselves after being entrusted with a small military force when initiating the debate over the army's status, Timoleon, the central figure in a Neo-Machiavellian play of that name, was an exception to this rule. He was, further, an ideal identification shared by others such as Toland, who later wrote that "valiant, generous, and Understanding Persons" should "imitat the glorious and immortal Fame of TIMOLEON, JUNIUS BRUTUS, WILLIAM the Old Prince of *Orange*, or ANDREAS DORIA" [3].

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[1] Nietzsche, 'On Truth and Lies', p. 84.

[2] See 'The Fable of the Helmet and the Wasps', in *Erasmus Redivivus*, earliest advert in *Post Man*, February 7-9, 1699, printed and sold by A. Baldwin, the main source of anti-army tracts. For Motteux, see *The London Stage, 1660-1800*, ed. by William Bird Van Lennep, Vol. I: 1660-1700 (Carbondale, Ill., 1965), p. 488.

[3] John Toland, *Anglia Libera: or, The Limitation and Succession of the Crown of England* ... (288.b.18., pp. 190, 8°, 1701), p. 187; and see *Timoleon: or, the Revolution. A Tragi-Comedy* (643.d.61., 4°, 1697).

200 thankful Addresses, received at Court between November 17 and December 31, 1697, were published in *The London Gazette*, and numerous minor poets smothered William with praise. Yet Matthew Prior's pro-Court poem, the only one previously linked to the debate, hardly compared with *The Birth of the Muse*, by Walter Moyle's friend William Congreve. This much longer work, noted by Narcissus Luttrell a week before its mid-November publication, contained Country images of renewed national spirits inseparable from the demilitarization plans [4]. Identifying the absent king as one who "Good, as Great, in awful Peace shall reign", the Whig financial hero, Charles Montague, was also drafted in to witness a bypassing of city markets in favour of calm bucolic activity [5].

Sensitive to the ideological implications of such images, in January *The Justice of Peace* attacked this image of demilitarized national regeneration with its own fiction of renewed economic vigour, promising that "The publick Grievance of the Nation/*Taxes*, shall quite grow out of Fashion". Yet the work's climax is clearly its praise of William's "roaring Boys", who "Will envy through the World create,"

> To see how *England* can with ease
> Such *standing* Bullies keep in *Peace*. [6]

These bold claims were, however, met by a range and volume of disapproval that queries the idea of a general sympathy for William, who insensitively aimed to disband English

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[4] Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, 6 Vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), Vol. IV, p. 304, entry for Thursday Nov. 11, 1697: "Mr. Congreve has writt an eloquent poem upon the peace, which will be printed on his Ms landing".

[5] William Congreve, *The Birth of the Muse. A Poem. To the Right Hon. Charles Montague* ... (1437. m. 37. pp. 10., fol., 1698), pp. 7-8, note the lines "No more the Lab'ring Hind regrets his Toil, / But Cheerfully Manures the grateful Soil"; adv. in *London Gazette*, 3342, Nov. 18-22. See Matthew Prior, *A New Answer to An Argument Against A Standing Army* (1697).

[6] *The Justice of Peace: Or a Vindication of Peace from Several late Pamphlets Written by Mr. Congreve, Dennis, & c.* ... (11626.bb.45., pp. 1-14, 4°, 1697), pp. 9-11. Adv. in *Post Man*, No. 423, Jan. 15-18.

regiments but retain his foreign mercenaries and Dutch Guards. Supplying men and money provoked English ire in the 1690s, yet independent members largely controlled the wartime military establishment's size. Further, according to Rubini, Country attempts to restrict troop numbers pointed not to "fear", but to the desire to ensure that England's costs remained "fair" [7]. If, then, economic issues were a constant site of ideological contestation, both William and Parliament knew that the nation couldn't finance the army's disbandment. The Commons' desire to revitalize the militia quickly stalled and compromises, ultimately conducted on economic terms, were grudgingly accepted which kept a large body of officers on half-pay [8].

"Discourses rather Notional than Practical" thus perpetuated a debate with little connection to actual conditions and which closely resembled the proposals that, as in November 1695, often accompanied William's regular requests to Parliament, "to raise the necessary Recruits, without giving Occasion of Complaint" [9]. Days later, the *Flying Post*'s author George Ridpath, who later opposed a standing army, ran an exclusive report of wild and unconstitutional schemes to which the *Discourse on Raising Men* of January, 1696, seemed primarily a response; yet, in the event, the usual mechanisms went into play [10]. Whilst neither work was directly linked to legislative reality, the *Discourse* scorned to draw Davenant's distinction between the military support William could expect in war and in peace. Defoe's own frequent analogy between wealth and military force opposed the

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[7] Rubini, *Court and Country, 1688-1702* (Hart-Davis, 1968), p. 133; and see Schwoerer, *No Standing Armies*, pp. 156-60. *The Dutch-Gards Farewell to England* (1699) evoked no dismay.

[8] *The Case of the Lieutenants of the late Second Marine Regiment* (1699), is representative of quite a few Parliamentary Addresses, seemingly from the ill-paid lower ranks, that followed the *London Gazette* speeches. William wasn't criticised, yet what were almost public mandates to the Commons, raising its relative status, suggest how the inability to pay off servicemen partly weakened the effects of victory.

[9] *The Late Prints for a Standing Army, and in Vindication of the Militia Consider'd* ... (T. 1670. (8), 4°, 1698), p. 1; *The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons*, Pr. Chandler, Vol. III, p. 3.

[10] George Ridpath, *Flying Post*, No. 83, Nov. 23-6, 1695; see *A Discourse about Raising Men* ... (1489. r. 64, 1696). Adv. in *Post Man*, No. 109, Jan 16-18, 1696; unconvincingly attributed to Defoe Bastian, *Early Life*, p. 310. For details of the actual recruitment process, see Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, Vol. III, p. 567, and Vol. IV, p. 13.

Classical Republican use of Machiavelli, but was hardly a personal insight. As *An Essay on Ways and Means of Supplying the War* told readers, "war is quite changed from what it was in the time of our forefathers; when in a hasty expedition, and a pitched field, the matter was decided by courage; but now the whole art of war is in a manner reduced to money; and now-a-days, that prince, who can best find money to feed, cloath, and pay his army, not he that has the most valiant troops, is surest of success and conquest" [11].

Davenant praised William's courage as a leader. Nevertheless, he also affirmed that "a parliament that would consent to continue excises, beyond the necessities of the war, would give up Magna Charta, or settle the present land-taxes into a perpetuity upon the crown" [12]. Chapter 2 argued that *An Essay Upon Projects* was partly a critique of current military habits. Thus, whilst Defoe's image of William as "exposed to the necessity of employing foreigners in the posts of trust and service in his armies", recorded a diplomatic negation, his superficially blasphemous equation between the gospel and war can now be seen as an arresting, and similarly ironic, attempt to gloss over any identification with Davenant on this issue [13]. Yet the position itself was a fairly common one, as indicated by a pro-army writer's comment: "Do not impose on us, the Fate of the *Israelites*, ... One Trade is enough to one Man" [14].

Peace altered the limits of acceptable public discourse. Tom Brown and Fonveve of the *Post Man* thus faced prosecution for satirizing the Bourbons, but Secretary of State Sir John

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[11] Charles Davenant, *An Essay on the Ways and Means of Supplying the War* (1694), repr. in *The Political and Commercial Works*, Coll. and Rev. by C. Whitworth, 5 Vols (1771), Vol. I, p. 16; and see D. Waddell, 'Charles Davenant (1656-1714) - A Biographical Sketch', *EcHR*, 11:2 (1958), 279-88.

[12] Davenant, *An Essay on the Ways and Means*, p. 77, and further: "If an honourable and safe peace be so much in our power as some men imagine, there will be no occasion of new ways and means of supplying the government".

[13] Defoe, *EP*, p. 143, in *CEW*.

[14] *An Argument Against a Standing Army Discuss'd...* (1490.p.89., pp. 38, 4°, 1698), p. 18; adv. in *Flying Post*, No. 405, for Dec. 14-16.

Trumbull left Darby the Commonwealth printer and the "clubb of gentlemen" alone after the publication of Trenchard and Moyle's *Argument, shewing, that a Standing Army is Inconsistent with A Free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy* [15]. This, the first thrust in the pen and ink war wasn't advertised like the majority of tracts. Nor indeed was John, Lord Somers' reply, *A Letter, Ballancing the Necessity of Keeping A Land-Force,* which warned that, though invasions from La Hogue and Calais had gone awry, "We must not expect that God will always work Miracles for us, if we are wanting to our selves" [16]. Further, Somers made much of Parliament's power of annual review, reminding readers that it had taken even Julius Caesar ten years to mould the army to his wishes [17].

If the allusive force and ideological aims that inform the earlier text's Horatian title page epigraph suggest that the techniques of two contending shades of Whig opinion might not have been judged harshly by educated contemporaries, lines 34-8, from "Cervus Equum" to "depulit ore", in Epistle I. x, narrated one of the best known political metaphors, in which a horse begged man's help to defeat a stag, but afterwards could never "dislodge the rider from his back or the bit from his mouth." Arbitrary power personified in the leader was, then, always identifiable with the rider on the people's back. Trenchard chose not to include Horace's moral, in lines 39-41: "he who through fears of poverty loses liberty, which is better than mines of wealth, will in his avarice carry a master, and be a slave for ever, not knowing how to live on little" [18]. For Whig polemecists, then, this image would carry either

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[15] Luttrell, *Historical Relation,* Vol. IV, pp. 301-2.

[16] John, Lord Somers, *A Letter, Ballancing the Necessity of Keeping A Land-Force In Times of Peace: With the Dangers that may follow on it* (521.h.2.(3), pp. 1-16, °4, 1697), p. 5.

[17] See Somers, *A Letter, Ballancing,* p. 13.

[18] Sir John Trenchard and Walter Moyle, *An Argument, shewing, that a Standing Army is Inconsistent with A Free Government, and Absolutely Destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy* (8122.e.35. pp. iii-iv. 5-31, 4°, 1697), Title page. *Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica,* trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough, The Loeb Classical Library (Heinemann, 1926), p. 317.

Stuart or French overtones. Yet it was, in the current circumstances, also likely to have implications which make Trenchard's reference something of a subtle reversal [19].

These apparently backward-looking Republican points, highly successful on their own terms, attempted to reshape ways of thinking rather than actually change the immediate Parliamentary process. To halt calls for an extended and permanent military system, it was crucial to have what could at least be presented as a viable alternative. Strengthened by his position as a wealthy independent Whig who had loaned William III £60,000 soon after his coming over, Trenchard's analysis depended on Machiavelli's division of states into those built for geographical stability and those designed for expansion, which dictated the suitability of either militia and or mercenary forces for an individual country. The Epistle opens with the theme of friendship between city and country dweller, a fact which Trenchard would have expected his readers to appreciate, since the Preface itself concentrates on national division and party profit. A social and ideological peace plan is thus already alluded to before the attack begins.

Attempting to neutralize one of Trenchard and Moyle's best placed blows—the suggestion that an army presence questioned the peace's validity—the [*Letter*] *to the anonimous Author of the Argument against a Standing Army* echoed the language of Trenchard's subsequent *Letter to the Author of the Ballancing Letter*, to argue that the similar "Composition" of an army and a militia meant more than any ideological differences [20]. Yet the anti-army line kept shifting. Trenchard and Moyle had, for example, so far argued that the present French weakness,

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[19] Perhaps the most colourful version of this theme appeared in *The Fable of the Horse and the Stag* in *Poems on Affairs of State*, (1697): "The Moral fits our Times, and home it comes / To Male-contents, in Modern English *Grums*, / To wreak their Spleen, they ask a Tyrant's Aid, / One, that all Rights, all Liberties Invades; / One that wou'd Ride 'em down to very Jades.", pp. 124-6.

[20] [*A Letter*] *to the anonimous Author of the Argument against a Standing Army*, (UCL, 1698), dated December 16th 1697, p. 2. Unlisted by Wing.

promoted by Davenant, de Souligne, and others, made it best to alter England's military and sociopolitical structure without delay [21]. With infuriating humility, they had also accepted that their assessment of a new international order might be too optimistic. But, if William's desire for a large body of foreign mercenaries was not in itself sinister, their disbelief, repeated in *A Letter ... to the Author of the Ballancing Letter*, that "we have an Honourable Peace in case we are oblig'd to keep a Standing Force to maintain it", at least suggested a limited diplomatic success, for which the king and his Dutch favourite, Portland, were responsible [22]. Their *Letter* concluded by referring to Caesar's corruption of the army over ten years, reflecting pointedly that "if that be the exact time" required, "pray consider that ours hath been kept up nine Years already". Trenchard and Moyle also rejected Somers' use of miracles with the comment that "the business of la *Hogue* was the the Talk of the *Exchange*, and in all the Publick Prints, besides the Gazette, two Months before it happened:"

> And as to that of *Calais*, His Majesty, by his extraordinary Care, supprized the Enemy with seventy Sail on their Coasts, which they never expected. [23]

Amongst the first wave of replies to the pro-militia case, Defoe's earliest tract, *Some Reflections on a Pamphlet Lately Publish'd*, appeared on December 2, 1697, the Thanksgiving day for the Peace, when Gilbert Burnet preached to William at Whitehall. Canonizing it, Hazlitt's *Works of Daniel Defoe* nevertheless warned that he wasn't "the unqualified supporter of a standing army" [24]. Asking how to best defend England, *Some Reflections* ends: "not at

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[21] See de Souligne, *The Desolation and Ruine of France Demonstrated*, adv. in the *London Gazette*, No. 3350, Dec. 16-20, which usefully supported William's public contention that he had won a firm and lasting peace.

[22] Trenchard and Moyle, *A Letter from the Author of the Argument Against a Standing Army, to the Author of the Ballancing Letter* (pp. 3-15, 4°, 1697), p. 4.

[23] Trenchard and Moyle, *A Letter... to the Author of the Ballancing Letter*, pp. 11-3.

[24] *Works*, ed. Hazlitt, Vol. I, p. xvii. Already in Machell Stace, *An Alphabetical Catalogue of an Extensive Collection of the Writings of Daniel De Foe: And of the Different Publications For and Against Them* (London, 1829), p. 40; yet Wilson, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 285, had only called it "not improbable".

the direction of a Pamphlet, but by the King, Lords and Commons, who have not taken a false Step yet in the Matter ;"

> To them let it be left, and if they agree, be it *with an Army*, or *without an Army*; be it *by a Militia regulated*, or *by an Army regulated*, what is that to him?
>
> I have indeed heard much of *a Militia regulated into an Army*, and truly I doubt not, but *an Army might be regulated into a Militia*, with Safety and Honour to the King, and the Peoples Liberties. But as I have said, *I leave that to the Government to determine* ... [25]

The next day, John Evelyn recorded that William's opening speech to Parliament covered "the deficiencys of the Revenue, and the necessity of maintaining a strong Navy at sea, & sufficient forces by Land," but "wisely" avoided mentioning a standing army [26]. In a similar manner, then, some might see pro-Court diplomacy in Defoe's willingness to back either the army or the militia at such a crucial moment. Yet William didn't favour the latter choice at all, and its inclusion within Defoe's evaluation arguably made his independence explicit. An analysis wishing to locate a Court writer can, however, respond by asserting that Defoe's balancing act has little conviction here, and that the superiority of an army over a militia was the message dominating *Some Reflections* and his other pamphlets.

Defoe's *Some Reflections* certainly stressed the monarchy's military function more than either *Remarks upon a Scurrilous Libel*, released one day later by the same printer and bookseller, or a third reply, *Some Remarks Upon a late Paper, Entituled, An Argument*, published at the same time. His initial position also contrasted with these two pro-army writers, who together met

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25 Defoe, *Some Reflections on a Pamphlet Lately Publish'd, Entitul'd, An Argument Shewing That a Standing Army is Inconsistent with a Free Government*, ... 1st edn (8122.e.54., pp. i-ii. 1-28, 4°, 1698), p. 28; adv. in *Foreign Post*, No. 78, Nov. 29-Dec. 3, "Yesterday was published". Henceforth *SRP*.

26 John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 Vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), Vol. V, p. 278.

Trenchard's assertion that Elizabeth I did without a standing army, by pointing to a body of 40,000 that saw action in Ireland, Flanders, and with the King of Navarre [27]. Legislators of free governments had, Trenchard claimed, kept the exercise of military power from kings. Defoe took him to task, suggesting the argument's backwardness with a common trope:

> Now 'tis notoriously known, that all these were first establish'd Commonwealths, not Monarchies: and if this Gentleman wou'd have us return to that Estate, then I have done with him; but I appeal to himself, if all these Governments, when they became Regal, did not maintain a Millitary [sic] Power more or less: Nay, God himself, when the *Israelites* would have a King, told them this would be a Consequence: as if it might be inferr'd as of absolute necessity, that a Military Power must be made use of with a Regal Power; and as it may follow *no King, no Army*, so it may as well follow, *no Army no King*. Not that I think an Army necessary to maintain the King in his Throne, with regard to his Subjects, for I believe no Man in the World was ever *the Peoples King* more than his present Majesty. [28]

This reversible pairing of king and army provides a memorable, though clearly distorted, argument in little that was commented on in mid-December by *The Argument Against a Standing Army Rectify'd*. Pro-militia arguments were, then, propounded not only by those around Trenchard but also those with a Harleyite middle position, who used militia reform to effect a complex compromise, discussing immediate European conditions in ways which prefigure and arguably influenced Defoe's own interventions in works such as *Lex Talionis*. Agreeing that the "Power of the *French* King" made it "unconceivable" that England could be properly defended "without a Standing Force", the author pointed with foresight to "the fair Prospect which the House of *Bourbon* has, of having the Crown of *Spain* united to that

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[27] See *Remarks upon a Scurrilous Libel; Called An Argument, Shewing that a Standing Army is Inconsistent with a Free Government, &* c. (1608/561, pp. 1-22, 4°, 1697), p. 11; and *Some Remarks Upon a Late Paper, Entituled, An Argument, Shewing* ... (1480. b. 13, 4°, 1697), p. 11.

[28] Defoe, *SRP*, p. 5.

of *France*", arguing from this, and on similar lines to Defoe, "the necessity of our having a Land-Force in readiness, either to defend *Flanders*, our Natural Barrier ... or to be Transported to the assistance of the *Spaniards*" [29].

The Argument Against a Standing Army Rectify'd did not find Trenchard and Moyle's proposals ridiculous. Indeed, dismissing the "silly instances" of militias "not having acted their parts" offered by Defoe and others, as "the fault of the Government and not of the People", it claimed that "the true reason why the Militia come so far short of the Regular Troops now is that the Court having in the later Reigns framed to themselves a distinct Interest from the Country, they durst not entrust them with Arms, nor encourage their being train'd up in the use of them". Yet it agreed with Defoe that William's position was different, concluding in a way he would also have found acceptable: "the better his Subjects are train'd up in martial Discipline, the more firmly is his Crown fix'd" [30].

Interestingly, the argument that sharing the same religion might not hinder the monarch from playing parties off against each other received tactical agreement from *A Letter to* A, B, C, D, E, F, & c. [31]. Yet Defoe's message, that supporters of an absolutist monarchy could take in naive Republican theorists, was never anything more than propaganda. Other pro-army writers generally chose not to make too much of this common tactic for dispatching an enemy, and Defoe's own confusion of terms in his *Some Reflections* highlights a willingness to set up targets. The Preface echoes the strategy of *A Letter*. Whilst, however, *Some Remarks upon a late Paper* tried to alter the applicability of Trenchard's Aesopian fable, Defoe's Preface replied with another fable:

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29 *The Argument Against a Standing Army Rectify'd* ... (103.g.62, pp. 1-30, 4°, 1697), pp. 5-10.
30 *The Argument Against a Standing Army Rectify'd*, pp. 14-5.
31 *A Letter to* A, B, C, D, E, F, & c., p. 32.

But of all things I magnifie you, Dear Sir, *for that fine turn of Argument, that not to Disband the Army is the way to bring in King James; but to Disband them is the most effectual way to hinder them. You have read, no doubt, of the Fable, how the Sheep were perswaded to dismiss the Dogs who they had hired to defend them against the Wolves; the Application,* Sir, *is too plain; and this is the Clause makes me suspect you for a Jacobite.* [32]

If Mr. ABCDEFG, as Trenchard and Moyle signed themselves, couldn't be both Commonwealthman and Jacobite, Defoe's accusation of inconsistency accompanies his initial refusal to discuss the constitutional arguments behind the militia lobby. Looked at from another perspective, the incompatibility he locates in his opponent could reflect his own anxious attempts to construct William as 'the People's King'. All Trenchard's opponents except Somers had pilloried his book learning. Defoe would later introduce a division between kinds of history. Yet here his gently mocking earlier aside, that with "*more time to consult History, possibly I might have illustrated my Discourse with more lively instances*", also set out to ridicule *otium*, the classical virtue of leisured superiority. Under cover of modesty, Defoe's assurance—"*I have not look'd in a Book during the Composure, for which reason I desire to be excus'd if I have committed any Errors, as to the Dates of any of my Quotations*"—becomes an honest virtue, where exact dates might suggest his own anxiety [33]. Thus, a transference of authority from master to servant occurs as a calm, businesslike manner offers another definition of ease. The intertextual relations between Preface and main text suggest, as might be expected, certain complications here. As will be seen, this tract later places considerable weight on claiming possession of what must have been a rare text. At one level at least, then, Defoe's stance contradicts itself.

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[32] Defoe, *SRP*, 'Preface', p. i.
[33] Defoe, *SRP*, 'Preface', pp. i-ii.

Remarks upon a Scurrilous Libel, staged an episode in James II's flight from England to strengthen his point that, even if Catholicism could give a king tyrannical designs, "that very Prince, who in his Abdication march towards *Feversham,* was heard to say, *He had rather be a Captain of a Troop of Light Horse under the* French *king, than King of* England *under the Check of Parliaments,*" would nevertheless have been restrained by "common King-craft it self, if no other principle of Honour, ... from playing that foolish Dog in the Fable" [34]. Yet, combining the ex-monarch's supposed political realism, which itself went against the continuing popular sense of his absolutist designs, with this work's ridiculing of James's return as a piece of theatrical comedy, produced a sense of anti-climactic confusion [35].

Such failed gambits show Defoe's skill in handling extreme propositions. The *Some Reflections* passage quoted above may thus be reconsidered. Having suggested the pointlessness of classical example, rather than immediately ridiculing and rejecting Mr. ABCDEFG's approach, Defoe plays upon its artifice. Establishing a pseudo-dialogue he can then distort and dismiss the historian's arguments more effectively. Clearly, the tenets that linked armies to kings and God were well known. Teasing at and invoking previous anti-army statements, Defoe promotes extremes which pull back upon themselves. Whilst the final position, 'no Army no King', echoes the contention that William kept up soldiers to strengthen his role, its complete negation draws on recognisably Tory analysis to support the Whig assertion that he, more so than others, is *'the Peoples King'*.

The Spanish Armada story, Trenchard asserted, showed that a large invasion force could not be mustered without alerting the navy and giving time to raise the militia. With others, Defoe noted the calculation's weakness, challenging his opponent's definition of relevant

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[34] *Remarks upon a Scurrilous Libel,* pp. 6-7.
[35] See *Remarks upon a Scurrilous Libel,* pp. 13-4.

knowledge with a very individual source: "I remember a Speech which I have to show in *Manuscript* of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, on the Subject of the *Spanish* Invasion, which comes directly to this Case." Gaining attention, his attack continued,

> The Author of this Pamphlet, to instance in the Prodigious Navy that is necessary to bring over a small Army, tells us, the *Spanish Armado* Embark'd but 18000 Men, but he forgot that they were to take the Prince of *Parma* on Board from *Flanders* with 28000 old Low Country Soldiers more ; with which Army, as Sir *Walter Rawleigh* observ'd to that Gentleman, it was no improbable thing to think of Conquering this Kingdom; and Queen *Elizabeth* was so sensible of it, that she often told *Sir Walter*, that if they had not been beaten at Sea, they had been all undone, for her Armies were all Tumultuary Troops, Militia, and the like. [36]

To quote a rare primary source raises Defoe's status as historian. Making a strong case for the army without sharing William's views on its construction and nature, the tactic here is also provocative, since Defoe would soon reverse his closing comment's equation in a second discussion of Elizabeth's military success.

Despite contrary claims, the peace that followed the Treaty of Rhyswick didn't put minds at rest [37]. Seeing the storms ahead a mere ten days after the *London Gazette*, for 21 October, 1697, had carried the peace proclamation of two days before, Evelyn voiced the popular sense that "None got by this peace so much as Spaine who contributed least to it". At a loss to completely explain Louis's motivation, the diarist acknowledged that, "In the mean time he keeps Strasburg which gives him entrance into Germany, when he pleases, secures the Swisse to him, having made such Conditions about Lorrain, [as] signify little when ever

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[36] Defoe, *SRP*, p. 19.
[37] See Moore, *Citizen*, p. 75.

he think fit to breake". Evelyn's comments, based on details available to any newspaper reader, and thus helpful for estimating public opinion at large, end by recording a final humiliation. Though William refused to pay whilst Louis supported the couple at St. Germains, since James II was "dead by our Law", his wife claimed "her Joynture" [38].

Then, in mid-November, with the king kept on the continent by adverse winds, national security seemed suddenly threatened when the *London Gazette* carried "A PROCLAMATION, By the Lords Justices", stating that James, late Duke of Berwick, and 14 other Jacobites tied to the 1696 assassination plot, "or some of them, have secretly come into this Kingdom from France or other parts beyond the Seas, upon some Treasonable designs or Practices" [39]. When published, *A Letter from a Gentleman at St. Germains, To his Friend in London,* thus named an especially irritating location from which to judge English conditions. If taking up a position outside England transcends party positions, writing ironically as a Jacobite helped to deal with the problems that arose if one wished to say that the English peace was sound, whilst suspended disbelief created a drily comic tone. The persona's teasingly malign comments were, nevertheless, mostly levelled at the Whigs, a coalition being fractured by both the military issue and Occasional Conformity.

Though the latter issue is dealt with fully later, it should be noted here that since May, 1696, the Whigs had begun to fear that peace would tip the scales against them. Whilst, in early 1697, Sunderland was rumoured to be planning to introduce certain Tory Lords, Luttrell noted on November 9 that "a court of aldermen", the majority of whom shared the Lord

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38 Evelyn, *Diary*, Vol. V. pp. 269-71, who wrote of "how little" either the Hugeonots or their fellow religionists in the Palatine—where between 600 and 700 churches had been lost—"were minded by us or by any of the Confedarats". Noting how "the D. of Sax, & others go over daily to the Papists," he reflected that "the peace is nothing that which it was hoped".

39 *London Gazette*, No. 3340, November, 11-15.

Mayor Sir Humphrey Edwin's political convictions, nevertheless "blamed" his attendance at both church and conventicle in a time of increasing High Church activity [40]. Tories were further pleased since his Anglican sword-bearer publicly complained that the Lord Mayor, a thorough Whig knighted by William, was forcing him to attend the dissenting service. Defoe aside, the only writer to deal with these events was Ridpath, whose contribution preceded an apparently hard line drawn by the Dissenters' self-appointed spokesman. In reality, most Jacobites expressed "fury" at the Peace, which Henry Guy felt to be "an auspicious omen" for its solidity [41]. However, an assertion of satisfaction opens the Jacobite *Letter*:

> *SIR*,
>
> IN the midst of our Dismal Apprehensions of a War, which had almost Unpeopl'd this Country, laid waste its Tillage and Vineyards, put an end to its Manufactures, (in a great measure) by transferring them to other Countries; in a word, a War which threatned the Ruine of the French Trade both at home and abroad, and which if the Confederates could have maintain'd but two years longer, in all probability would have reduc'd this Monarchy to almost as low a Condition as that of *Spain*; I say, in the midst of such a frightful Prospect, ... by the imprudent haste the Allies have made in the Discharge of their Troops, the French King hath the opportunity of furnishing himself with the best Foot that were ever yet known in the World, and is now at liberty to Employ his own Subjects in Tillage, Vineyards, and Manufactures, ... [42]

Evelyn's commonly held view, that the Spanish had gained most from the peace, is thus reversed by comments which also reflect ironically on the Jacobite, since James's

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[40] Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, Vol. IV p. 303.

[41] Henry Guy cited by Rubini, *Court and Country*, p. 132, who notes also that, perhaps even more significantly, "the Jacobites' distaste provided a sharp contrast to the delight of the ministerial tories"; and see Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689-1746* (Eyre Methuen, 1980), pp. 11-78.

[42] *A Letter from a Gentleman at St. Germains, to his Friend in London* (1609/1434, pp. 3-12, 4°, 1697), p. 1.

administration was in a worse position than that of Carlos II. In addition, placing the French above the Spanish builds from the former's obviously more dominant role to create the implication that they in fact did better out of the negotiation than generally accepted.

Whilst actual figures had yet to be discussed in Parliament, the newspapers gave the impression that disbandment was going ahead at speed. Thus, under the heading *London*, the *Foreign Post*, September 22-4, stated that "The Soldiers are now regularly paid off every week." A month later, the *London Gazette*, No. 3335, announced that William had "given Order for the Disbanding of 10 Regiments here in *England*," *Post Man*, November 27-30, printed further information: "The Regiments of Horse of *Harvey* and *Windsor*, with those of Dragoons of *Denbigh* and *Leigh*, are to be forthwith disbanded, but we hear his Majesty is graciously pleased to allow the Officers half pay." If 'imprudent haste' suggests an unexplored comparison with other nations, England's closest allies seemed to be behaving with more caution. On November 6, for example, Luttrell noted one rumour: "The Dutch, 'tis said, design to entertain 12,000 Suissers in their pay, and the earl of Albemarle to be their general" [43].

At such a time, the Jacobite declared, it must be "impossible for them, (when they come soberly to Reflect upon their Danger"

> from *La Hogue*, *Calais*, the several Debarkments in *Ireland*, and the *P.* of *O.*'s Descent, in every of which Cases, the English were Masters of the Sea) to believe themselves safe without a Land-Force, nor with any other Land-Force than Disciplin'd Troops against Disciplin'd Troops, certainly they cannot.

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[43] Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, Vol. IV, p. 302.

Defoe expanded similar anti-fleet arguments in *Some Reflections*, as did Somers' *Letter* and other pro-army tracts. When, however, the Jacobite suggests that his correspondent encourage friends to "industriously sollicit in the Court of *Requests*, Coffee Houses, *&c.* and by being all Things to all Men, they will gain some", he sounds peculiarly Defoean [44].

Chapter 6 explores this echo from St. Paul, which was used not only by Occasional Conformity's defenders but also by Defoe, who applied it to his later spying activities for Harley. *A Letter From a Gentleman at St. Germains*, thus shows how the politics behind Standing Armies were linked, at that moment, with the lesser storm over Occasional Conformity. The Jacobite lists ways for his friend to achieve their united aims, repeating phrases readily identifiable with Trenchard. Discussing how to "Enrage the Clergy with Reminding them of the Decrease of their Dominion" echoed the current situation as noted by one west country Whig, that "our high blades of the clergy are very wroth and uneasy, and will be sure to do all the mischief they can", especially after the recent unsuccessful attempts made towards Comprehension by Archbishop Tenison's minority grouping [45]. Further, the Jacobite tactics—"tell 'em, That now the Sword of Justice walks into Conventicles, not to Correct 'em, but to Compliment 'em"—resemble those of Will, Ridpath's Whig spokesman in *A Dialogue Betwixt Jack and Will*, a tract discussed in Chapter 6. A short paragraph adds one further slant to the Jacobite persona as his advice continues: "Irritate all those who came over with the Pr--- of O----, and are unrewarded", such as "the *Scotch* Conjurer" Andrew Fletcher,

> Remind the Whigs of their being disbanded when there was no further use of them; It may prove a seasonable precedent for them to disband the

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[44] *A Letter from a Gentleman*, p. 6.

[45] Cited in H. Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy and Politics in the Reign of William III* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), p. 223.

> Army; And as *Timon* of *Athens* says, "May they confound the Army, and then —"[46]

The *Timon* reference had particular relevance to Trenchard, whose generosity to the new king preceded his later opposition in a way that allowed detractors to call him melancholy and discontented, if not misanthropic. Some readers would, then, have relished the Jacobite's apposite, but inexact, literary flourish. In Shakespeare, Timon's words to Alcibiades, as he leads an army against Athens, are:

> The gods confound them all in thy conquest,
> And thee after, when thou hast conquer'd.[47]

Twenty five lines on, Timon repeats a similar curse. Disordering the targets from Athens to 'the Army' performs a reversal that allows both groups to coexist in the same sentence position, whilst the Jacobite's move prompts a comparison, between an Athenian army that will follow their general for money against his own country, and an English army that wouldn't. Trenchard and others would not have wanted their readers to make such a comparison. Replacing gods with an unspecific 'they' is a different intertextual move. Disrupting the original curse's logic questions giving classical precedent so much weight in the debate's early stages. It also implies that the Whigs are, in some sense, the gods. Literary and political expectations are thus played with in a subtle and pertinent manner.

Eroding a stable text asks the question, 'which Timon?', and *Timon of Athens* was performed at Drury Lane on Friday, November 26, 1697. Yet again, the audience didn't see the original text, but Thomas Shadwell's romanticized 1678 version that injected political

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[46] *A Letter from a Gentleman*, pp. 8-10.

[47] William Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*, Act IV, iii, ll. 103-4, in *The Complete Works*, ed. by C. J. Sisson (Odhams, 1953), p. 929.

relevance, to achieve contemporaneity without coherence, cutting the first curse to compact Shakespeare's sentiment into one line at Alcibiades' departure, "Confound *Athens*, and then thyself" [48]. Reference to a work performed in London a mere day or two before a text supposedly from France was available suggests the Jacobite *Letter*'s fictional nature, whilst its divergence from what Timon said in either version also implies the double aims of its innuendo. Yet the St. Germains Gentleman's reference is disordered. In the event, the army sets up a Commonwealth in Shadwell's more detailed finale. Alcibiades, however, had flirted with absolutism when, after Timon's pardon is refused in Act IV, i, he warns that he will "Banish your foul corruptions and self Ends! / Oh the base Spirit of a Common-wealth! / One Tyrant is much better than four hundred; / The worst of Kings would be asham'd of this" [49].

William's own position, indeed, can be read into the 1697 production's parallels between Timon and Alcibiades—a link worth noting since Shadwell enforced the original sense of the link between these two figures—for, in little more than a week, the king would do as Shadwell's Athenian statesman, diverging from Shakespeare, asks of his servant in Act III, i:

> Thou, *Demetrius*, shalt go to the Senate, from whom
> Even to the States best health I have deserv'd This hearing.
> Petition them to send me 500 Talents. [50]

Published on January 4, 1698, Defoe's *An Argument, shewing, that a Standing Army, with consent of Parliament, is not Inconsistent with a Free Government*, belonged to the debate's second wave, which came after Robert Harley and Paul Foley brokered the initial great cut in mid-December. The only work from this debate reprinted in his *True Collection*, the *Argument* was

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[48] Thomas Shadwell, *The History of Timon of Athens, The Man-Hater* (Commarket Press,1969), p. 78.
[49] Shadwell, *Timon*, p. 60.
[50] Shadwell, *Timon*, p. 37.

also the only attribution to convince Wilson, who saw "a sort of moderator" not "much dissatisfied with" the army's official shrinking to just over 7,000, finding support for his opinion in its conclusion, "the Parliament we see needs no Instruction in this Matter" [51]. England's representatives were, Defoe continued, thus "providing to reduce the Forces to the same *Quota* they were in before 1680,"

> by which means all the fear of Invading our Liberties will be at an end, the Army being so very small that 'tis impossible, and yet the King will have always a Force at hand to assist his Neighbours, or defend himself till more can be raised. [52]

Because "no Army and a great Army, are extreams equally dangerous, the one to our Liberty at Home, and the other to our Reputation Abroad, and the Safety of our Confederates", Defoe aimed for "the safe *Medium* which may please us all", directing himself to those with "something to lose", namely "the honest well-meaning *English*-Free-holder ... who loves his Liberty better than his Life, and won't sell it for Money" [53]. Claiming to think they were by the same author, Defoe noted the publication of *The Second Part of an Argument* and Fletcher's *A Discourse Concerning Militias and Standing Armies*, which collapsed the pro-army defence of the realm argument [54]. Taking a specifically Scottish position, his *Two Discourses Concerning the Affairs of Scotland*, followed in mid-July, 1698. Discussing the militia's relative competence, it declared that, "to discover the true reason why Standing Forces are

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51 Wilson, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 281-3; Defoe, *An Argument Shewing, That a Standing Army, with Consent of Parliament, Is Not Inconsistent with a Free Government* (1093.e.108. (3), pp. i-ii. 1-26, 4°, 1698), repr. in *TC*, pp. 202-23, (p. 222). Henceforth *ASSA*. Adv. in *Flying Post*, No. 413, Jan. 1-4, located by Trent, see *UBN*, p. 27.

52 Defoe, *ASSA*, in *TC*, pp. 222-3.

53 Defoe, *ASSA*, in *TC*, pp. 204-9.

54 See Defoe, *ASSA*, in *TC*, p. 203; and Andrew Fletcher, *A Discourse Concerning Militias and Standing Armies. With relation to the Past and Present Governments of Europe, and of England* ... (521.h.2.(5.), pp. 3-30, 4°, 1697), expanded and retitled, when repr. in Edinburgh as *A Discourse of Government with Relation to Militias* (1093..b.134, pp. 3-66, 8°, 1698).

designed to be kept up in this Nation in time of Peace, we need only look back on the use that was made of them during the late War."

> For after the reduction of the Highlands they served only for a seminary to the Forces of this Nation that were with his Majesty in Flanders, the best of their men being drawn out yearly for recruiting those Forces. This also proves that his Majesty knew very well, that there was no hazard from the Invasions ...

In the Darien fiasco, Fletcher saw England reinforcing his country's client status. If Scotland had borne its share of the war's burden without receiving the "advantages from our Neighbours or Allies, we do our selves right," Fletcher concluded, "by refusing to maintain any Standing Forces for their behoof" [55]. In addition, argues John Robertson, his arguments revealed the faults in Defoe's "anglo-centric" stress on the balancing power of Parliamentary consent. Yet, whilst Members might, as Robertson comments, "themselves be corrupted, their 'sovereignty' then enhancing rather than checking government's arbitrary power", by insisting on each party's ability to negate the other, Defoe creates the death drive's inertia or stasis [56].

In the former work named by Defoe, Trenchard and Moyle argued that to dispense with an army might seem to "*shew less Wit than Æ*sop's *Rhinoceros*". Yet it was, nevertheless, clear that "our wise Forefathers" such as Bacon "did not like it".

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55 Fletcher, *Two Discourses Concerning the Affairs of Scotland* (1698), pp. 25-6; adv. in *Post Man*, for July 12-4.
56 John Robertson, 'The Challenge of Andrew Fletcher', in *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1985), pp. 22-59, (p. 30).

> But *what signify the Proceedings of former Ages to us ?* say the Projectors, *the world is strangely altered, and the Power of* France *is become so formidable, that it can never be opposed in the* Elizabeth *way.* [57]

To answer their pinpointing of *Some Reflections*, Defoe returned to the time of the Armada, revising his own comments: "I believe it may be said, that from that time to this Day, the Kingdom has never been without some Standing Troops of Soldiers entertain'd in Pay, and always either kept at Home, or employ'd Abroad ;"

> and yet no evil Consequence follow'd, nor do I meet with any Votes of the Parliament against them as Grievances or Motions made to Disband them, till the Days of King *Charles* the first. Queen *Elizabeth*, tho' she had no *Guard du Corps*, yet she had *Guards du Terres.* She had even to her last Hour, several Armies, *I may call them*, in Pay among Foreign States and Princes, which, upon any visible Occasion, were ready to be call'd Home. [58]

Defoe here also first responded to Trenchard and Moyle's literary paradigm of master / servant relations, by quoting from *A Dialogue between the Two Horses.* Attributed to Andrew Marvell in the 1689 volume of *Poems on Affairs of State* and in later editions, this anti-Stuart satire imagined the Woolchurch horse, on which a statue of Charles II sat, meeting at night with the people's symbol from Charing Cross, which carried Charles I's figure. Asserting "that the Reputation and Influence the *English* Nation has had abroad among the Princes of Christendom, has always been more or less according as the Power of the Prince, to aid and assist, or to injure or offend, was esteem'd", Defoe produced some teasing illustrations:

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[57] Trenchard and Moyle, *The Second Part of an Argument, Shewing, that a Standing Army is Inconsistent with A Free Government, and Absolutely Destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy. With Remarks on the late Published List of King James's Irish Forces in France* (8122.e.35*, pp. i-iii. 5-27, 4°, 1697), pp. 18-9, for Bacon's opposition, see p. 11.

[58] Defoe, *ASSA*, in *TC*, pp. 205-6.

> Thus Queen *Elizabeth* carried her Reputation Abroad by the Courage of her *English* Soldiers and Seamen ; and on the contrary, what a ridiculous figure did King *James*, with his *Beati Pacifi*, make in all the Courts of *Christendom* ? How did the Spaniards and the Emperor banter and buffoon him ? How was his Ambassador asham'd to treat for him, while Count *Colerodo* told Count *Mansfield*, *That his New Master* (meaning King James) *knew neither how to make Peace or War*? King *Charles* the First far'd much in the same manner: And how was it altered in the Case of *Oliver*.
>
> *Tho' his Government did a Tyrant resemble,*
> *He made* England *Great, and her Enemies tremble.*
>
> Dialogue of the Horses. [59]

The Woolwich horse's preceding admission, "I am for old Noll", makes clear the narrative transference in Defoe's citation. Yet the intertextual implications are not simple, since Trenchard and Moyle were popularly seen as Commonwealthmen and the horses conclude their conversation in the following manner:

> *Ch.* But canst thou Divine when things shall be mended?
> *W.* When the Reign of the Line of the Stuarts is ended.
> *Ch.* Then, England, Rejoyce, thy Redemption draws nigh;
> Thy oppression togeather with Kingship shall dye.
> *W.* A Commonwealth a Common-wealth wee proclaim to the Nacion;
> The Gods have repented the Kings Restoration. [60]

From early in 1698 the press remained quiet about the army until the prospect of autumn elections gave the debate new life. During that year, Defoe countered works such as Anthony Hammond's *Considerations Upon the Choice of a Speaker* and Toland's *The Danger of*

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[59] Defoe, *ASSA*, in *TC*, p. 208.

[60] *A Dialogue between the Two Horses*, in Andrew Marvell, *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by H. M. Margoliouth, rev'd by Pierre Legouis and E. E. Duncan-Jones, 2 Vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), Vol. I, pp. 208-13, (p. 212).

Mercenary Parliaments, which hoped that William might deliver up to Justice those traiterous and insinuating Parasites,"

> who endeavour to inspire into his Sacred Breast an unworthy Jealousy of his People, as if he wanted the assistance of a Standing Army to secure and establish to himself that Throne which he has already so firmly erected in the hearts of affections of his Subjects. [61]

Defoe's praise of William was, then, in itself unexceptional. If his stance towards Parliament is at times aggressive, this contestatory logic is veiled in the Conclusion of *Some Reflections* where the illusion of national unity gives his attack on Trenchard force. "It had been but time to have wrote such an Invective upon the King and the Army, when we had found the Parliament of *England* strugling to disband them, and the King resolute to maintain them : But *This !* when the King and the House are all Union and Harmony ! 'tis intollerable, and the King ought to have some Satisfaction made him, and I doubt not but he will." Continuing, he asserts:

> I am not, nor, I think, I have no where shown as if I were for the Government by an Army ; but I cannot but suppose, with Submission to the House of Commons, that they will find it necessary to keep us in a Posture of Defence sufficient to maintain that Peace which has cost so much Blood and Treasure to procure, and I leave the Method to them, and so I think this Author ought to have done.

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[61] Toland, *The Danger of Mercenary Parliaments* (8122.e.24, pp. 1-8, 4°, 1698), p. 8; and see Anthony Hammond, *Considerations Upon the Choice of a Speaker of the House of Commons in the Approaching Session* (R. 1438/31, 4°, 1698).

By his account, then, there is no "question but in that great Assembly all things will be done for the Maintenance of our Liberty with a due respect to the Honour and Safety of his Majesty, that is possible" [62].

If this study addresses the figurative doubleness within individual texts, noting that Defoe's rhetoric differs from both "the king's enemies" and William's "lukewarm ministerial supporters", the "Janus-face" Schonhorn saw—which utilizes William's symbolic figure without giving him unconditional support—suggests that such doubleness arises from the dilemmas inherent within the discourse of 'Publick Good' [63]. Homi Bhabha has used the same figure, describing "nation*ness*" as "the Janus-faced strait gate of modernity":

> What enters this double frame of the nation's anxiety is not the naturalized, harmonized unchosen of the *amor patriae*—which is also the love of the nation-people—but its double: those who are the 'unchosen', the marginalized or peripheralized non-people of the nation's democracy. [64]

Public rhetoric may strive to naturalize itself, yet contradictions arise from Defoe's drive to mastery which here relies on a definition of masculinity based on the male warrior that peacetime values must marginalize. Those figures, whose projected aggression had defined one of the highest images of public good, are put into crisis as the gendered "narrative logics" of wartime collapse. Soldiers, then, move closer to the nation's periphery as feminized subjects in need of the ideal identifications that Defoe's rhetoric provides [65].

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[62] Defoe, *SRP*, pp. 27-8.

[63] Schonhorn, *Defoe's Politics*, pp. 58-9.

[64] Homi Bhabha, 'Anxious Nations, Nervous States', in Copjec, ed., *Supposing the Subject*, pp. 201-17,', (p. 207).

[65] A. Susan Owen, 'Oppositional Voices in *China Beach*: Narrative Configurations of Gender and War', in Mumby, ed., *Narrative and Social Control*, pp. 207-31, (p. 217), "Given the vast silence of women's voices in conventional accounts of war ... its narrative traditions are structured from masculine perspectives".

In comparison with Somers' *Letter*, Defoe's tracts lacked social authority, and it is this lack which partly creates the Janus-face. Yet, like other writers who took a moderate position, he still defers to the government as a whole. Whilst Schonhorn stressed his manipulation of the warrior motif, the role Defoe constructs in *Some Reflections* is unlike the military identity he sometimes later advertised. Thus:

> I am no Soldier, nor never was, but I am sensible we enjoy the present Liberty, the King his Crown, and the Nation their Peace, bought with the Price of the Blood of these *Ragamuffins*, as he calls them, and I am for being civil to them at least. [66]

Bhabha also notes "the 'chosen' fixated objects of a projective paranoia that reveal, through their alien 'outsideness', the fragile, indeterminate boundaries of the 'People-As-One'". Examining the delusion of national unity in Lacanian terms, he thus argues that "it is the absence of the Father, rather than the mother, who appears 'more directly as benefactor', which constitutes the principle of national self-identification" [67]. Whilst Defoe reveals the double position of soldiers by repeating Trenchard's "*Ragamuffins*", symbolizing projective and paranoid violence, they also represent the sacrificial victim. What is, at one level, a complaint that soldiers have been shown insufficient respect also, as the implications of 'being civil' suggest, concerns the mocking of a strand of national ideology. Though absent from his earlier *Argument*, soldiers thus still provide the sacrificial identification when Defoe writes that "I am as positively assur'd of the Safety of our Liberties under the Conduct of King and Parliament, while they concur, *as I am of the Salvation of Believers by the Merits of our Saviour*" [68].

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[66] Defoe, *SRP*, p. 21.
[67] Bhabha, 'Anxious Nations', pp. 206-8.
[68] Defoe, *ASSA*, p. 213.

Before looking at the links between Defoe's *Lex Talionis: Or, An Enquiry Into The most Proper Ways to Prevent The Persecution Of the Protestants in France*, and his final contribution to the standing army debate, I want to examine his attack on William Stephens and Toland who had both adopted anti-Williamite positions, in the anonymous 1706 *Remarks on the Letter to the Author of the State-Memorial* [69]. In a typical *fort / da* gesture, the issue was introduced and then rejected. Yet his refusal to "examine here, the already Thorowly-debated Point of Disbanding the Army" allowed Defoe to declare that such differences were no longer "material, since 'tis very possible, that two Persons may act in differing Measures from the same honest Principle of the Publick Good" [70]. In what amounts to a double negation, the passage brought together Robert Harley and William, the two most powerful figures closely associated with Defoe, who opposed each other over disbandment. What these *Remarks* arguably record, then, is the gradual counter-parting of two masters as ideal identifications who screen Defoe's sense that he also had enacted differing 'Measures'.

Defoe's *Lex Talionis* of June, 1698, pursued the military issue in a more general way, claiming that though Louis tried to persuade Pope Innocent XI otherwise, the approach all parties adopted had shown that the conflict ending the year before was one "of State, not of Religion; and that the real Interest of Princes, is to preserve themselves, and their Subjects, against a too Powerful Invader, by Leagues and Assistances, let their Religious Interests be what they will." If the Catholic countries were then often defended by "the Sword and Power of the Protestant Interest", which had now certainly "lost Ground in *France*", Defoe still felt "the Protestant Interest in *Europe*, very well able to stand a shock with the Popish" [71].

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[69] See also his attack on them in Defoe, 'Preface', *JD*, repr. in *Works*, ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III, pp. x-xi.

[70] Defoe, *Remarks on the Letter to the Author of the State-Memorial* (8132.b.15., pp. 1-32. 1-4, 4°, 1706), p. 10, mispag. as 'p. 14'.

[71] Defoe, *Lex Talionis: Or, An Enquiry Into The most Proper Ways to Prevent The Persecution Of the Protestants in France.* (3901.e.20, pp. 1-27, 4°, 1698), pp. 2-3; earliest adv. found in *Post Man*, 480, June 23-5. Henceforth *LT*.

If Defoe never acknowledged this extremist tract, its Old Testament model of divinely authorized revenge describes patterns of presence and absence, and acts of expulsion, that will by now be familiar as symptoms of the death drive. Yet, despite its overtly violent themes and views, the text's twofold interest can be located, firstly, by referring again to Lacan's model of intrapsychic aggression and, secondly, by noting how its threats translate into fantasies of essentially one way population movements that would result in new unacknowledged difficulties, but which also detail the underlying desire to take the place of the other. As Lacan writes, "before language, desire exists solely in the single plane of the imaginary relation of the specular stage, projected, alienated in the other."

> The tension it provokes is then deprived of an outcome. That is to say it has no other outcome—Hegel teaches us this—than the destruction of the other.
>
> The subject's desire can only be confirmed in this relation through a competition, through an absolute rivalry with the other, in view of the object towards which it is directed. And each time we get close, in a given subject, to this primitive alienation, the most radical aggression arises—the desire for the disappearence of the other in so far as he supports the subject's desire. [72]

Defoe's *Lex Talionis* projected an alienated self-relation onto the other, represented by the Catholic nations. Through his paradigm of an absolute rivalry, the logic of the death drive is, at one level, shown to precede civilization's moral codes. Adopting his most ironic voice, Defoe admits that it "may possibly be objected here, That while we Exclaim against the *French* and *Germans* for their Violence to their Subjects, if we should do the same thing to the Papists, it would be practising what we Condemn, and doing Evil that Good may come." Yet, his speaker claims, it is

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[72] Lacan, *Seminar I*, p. 170

just that a Retaliation of the Injuries done upon the Members of one Party in one place, may be made upon the Members of the same Party in another place, by the same Rule that Depradations of the Subjects of one Prince in War, may be paid by Reprizal upon any of the Subjects of the same Prince.

73

Thus, supporting Cromwell's clearance of Ireland leads Defoe's counterpart onto the subject of expulsion, and the claim that "no Number of Foreigners can be Prejudicial to *England,* let it be never so great. Number of Inhabitants, is the Wealth and Strength of a Kingdom". Ultimately, then, this is the process that *Lex Talionis* asserts "would soon tire the Papists out."

> For I think I may be allowed to suppose there are much the greater number of Papists among the Protestants, than there are of Protestants among the Papists ; and the Exile of the Parties would also differ, as to Places. For, generally speaking, the Protestant Countries are the best for Strangers to live in, the Protestant People are the Trading People of the World : therefore the Exile of the Protestants of *France* and *Hungary* would be less to their disadvantage, than the Papists of *England, Ireland* and *Holland,* who must apply themselves to Countries where there are few Manufactures, small Trade, and but very indifferent Means for a Stranger to live. [74]

Later in 1698, *A Short History Of Standing Armies* suggested that preferment drove those in the pro-army camp [75]. In early December 1698, then, *A Brief Reply to the History of Standing Armies,* countered Trenchard and Moyle with a narrative of how opposition murmurers were themselves the Monarch's creation. Quoting from an earlier Defoe poem, like the

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[73] Defoe, *LT*, p. 19.

[74] Defoe, *LT*, pp. 24-6.

[75] See Trenchard and Moyle, *A Short History Of Standing Armies in England* (1093.e.108.(1)., pp. iii-viii. 1-46, 4°, 1698), Preface, p. iv.

Argument with which it shares some strategic characteristics, *A Brief Reply*'s Preface also cited the Marvell attribution:

> *If the Bottom of this Case was to be Examined, and the Authors dealt with in their own way, Preferment always lists them on the t'other side* : And tho I do not say these Gentlemen who write so strenuously for Liberty, would do so ; yet they have told us plainly who did, Viz. The Lord Strafford, *and* Noy, *and I could name them some more.* King Charles the First, *say they*, began the Custom of making an Opposition to himself in the House of Commons, the Road to Preferment ; *and how came it about ?* Truly, because he found they were Mercenary, and made a Noise that their Mouths might be stopp'd ; this has been too much a Method since, no doubt.

> "For Parliament-Men to rail at the Court,
> "And get a Preferment immediately for't. [76]

With others, Defoe called the militia's Republican influenced proponents "Grumbletonians", who tended to be identified with Country opposition to the Court. Further, referring to the Trenchardian camp, Defoe made the notable comment: "I am informed their name is *Legion*" [77]. His strategy, then, differed considerably from *A View of the Short History of Standing Armies in England*, which dealt with the same Trenchard and Moyle passage by arguing that "the Members of the Honourable House of Commons, if they are desirous and capable of the Imployments, ought to have them, all the rest of *England* exclusive, the Lords excepted" [78]. Further, arguing that "the Story of Forreign Forces ... is nothing material against Standing Armies", *A View of the Short History* commented that the "Army through

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[76] Defoe, *A Brief Reply to the History of Standing Armies in England. With Some Account of the Authors* (1093.e.108 (2), pp. i-iv. 1-25, 4°, 1698), Preface, pp. ii-iii. Moore, *Checklist*, p. 8, notes a 2nd edn advert on 8 Dec., 1698. Henceforth *BRH*. For his self-quotation (on p. i), see Defoe, *A New Discovery of an Old Intreague* (1691), p. 12, and see Defoe, *The True-Born Englishman. A Satyr* (Ashley. 581, pp. i-ii. 1-71, 4°, 1700), p. 40. Henceforth *TBE*.

[77] See Defoe, *BRH*, 'Preface', p. i, and p. 3.

[78] *A View of the Short History of Standing Armies in England* (1471.g.12., pp. 1-25, 4°, 1698), p. 3.

their whole Book," was "little better than a Stalking-horse, under which they Level at Kings, and Kingly Government". Summing up "the Evidence", this author would "not allow" the "Body of Rebels commanded by *Cromwel* and others raised without Consent of King and House of Peers, that cut off their Kings Head, and plaid so many strange Tricks ... to be compared with an Army, raised by a King, by and with the Advice of and Consent of both Houses of Parliament" [79].

Just, then, as Defoe's earlier use of the horses' dialogue located historical and cultural differences, their discussion of preferment related to other national ills. Thus, the Woolchurch horse complains about the "Worm-eaten Navy ... laid up at Chatham", and that "makeing us slaves by hors and foot Guards / For restoring the King should be our Rewards" [80]. Although the terms of Defoe's argument had by then become clear, the *Brief Reply* places greater emphasis on Naval issues:

> I do not remember that ever the King, or any of his Ministers, offered to lessen the value of a good Fleet in any of their Speeches, or Discourses ; if so, to what end have they been so careful of it, and why have we a Registring Act to secure Men for it, and a Royal Foundation at *Greenwich* Hospital to incourage them? why so many Bounties given to the Sea-men, and such vast Stores laid in to increase and continue them ? [81]

Discussing the inability of the navy or a militia to assist in supporting England's continental allies, "if a War should break out now in the Empire, between the Papists and the Protestants, which a Man, without the Spirit of Prophesie, may say is very likely", makes

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79 *A View of the Short History*, p. 11.
80 *Dialogue*, in Marvell, *Poems and Letters*, p. 210.
81 Defoe, *BRH*, p. 18.

further sense of Defoe's approach in *Lex Talionis* [82]. Yet, as with his earlier standing army contributions, his essential point is that "Parliament will consent to no Force,"

> but such as they shall judge safe and necessary ; and the King will insist on no other Army than the Parliament consents to ; and while they agree to it, why should we be concern'd? [83]

Both the reasonable constitutional position adopted in the standing army tracts and the expulsive fantasy solution of *Lex Talionis* predicate some form of balancing strategy. Yet, whilst the politics of managing military power are here based on the illusion of internal union, opposing the external results of organized violence produces the counterpart's image of intrapsychic conflict. Chapter 4 thus now turns to examine in greater detail how the death drive is projected abroad and, at the same time, to show how the different power struggles at home also result in images of sacrifice and expulsion.

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[82] Defoe, *BRH*, p. 19.
[83] Defoe, *BRH*, p. 22.

4. *Deux Grandes Questions*

We project on to the alien, or other, the destructiveness we fear in the most intimate relations or parts of ourself. Instead of trying to repair it at home, we send it abroad. [1]

In October, 1700, newspapers carried rumours about Spain's ailing king. Confirming Charles II's 1 November death, the *London Gazette* for 4 November, to what John Evelyn called "the astonishment of all the world, till now amused, with a partition, to the Emp: Duke of Bavaria, & other expectant princes", also reported a new will that named the Duke of Anjou, Louis XIV's grandson, to succeed. Sparking the Spanish Succession War, this altered will—part of which appeared in *The Flying Post* for 7 November—reflected English anxiety, for Anne's the Duke of Gloucester, had died on 30 July [2]. As England, her balance at home thus unsteady and trade relations with Spain now threatened, weighed the costs of another large war, Louis endorsed the Pretender's claim to succeed William.

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[1] Epigraph: Jacqueline Rose, 'Why War?', in *Why War?* (Oxford UK and Cambridge MA: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 15-40, (p. 19).

[2] Evelyn, *Diary*, Vol. V, November, 13, 1700, p. 434; and see the early August [undated] entry: doubting even the Catholic Stuarts' permanent exclusion, Evelyn summed up candidates for the crown: "Wher the Crowne will now Settle, should the Princesse of Denmark breed no more to live, is matter of high speculation to the Politic", p. 421.

If all subjects share the same universal desire for absolute power, what the *Kentish Petition*'s historian called a "Tincture in the Blood", this may legitimate hierarchy as essential to the maintenance of group, or social, cohesion [3]. At the same time, the Pretender's status as William's counterpart, no less than the rivalry existing between the Duke of Anjou and the allies' candidate Carlos III, publicly symbolized the Lacanian intrapsychic model with death as the absolute rival. Freudian theory, notes Charles Shepherdson, "refused" Hobbesian political theory's founding opposition of "'appetite' to 'law', [that] posit[ed] an innate human aggression or self-interest which must be ordered by the imposition of cultural convention (submission to the moral law) — that artifice by means of which humans transcend the state of 'nature' and enter in to 'history' ". Yet Defoe's "want of Power that restrains" was an oddly negative counterpoise with little hint of moral value [4].

Whilst Chapter 1 suggested that his ideological myth was also a fantasized return to the delusory omnipotence preceding the first experience of *méconnaissance*, this striving is also found in *The Two Great Questions Consider'd*, published on 15 November, 1700, the first discussion about renewing military action once the contents of Charles's rewritten will were known. Repeating the maxim, "*A just Ballance of Power is the Life of Peace*", Defoe continued:

> I question whether it be in the Humane Nature to set Bounds to its own Ambition, and whether the best Man on Earth wou'd not be King over all the rest if he could. Every King in the World would be the Universal Monarch if he might, and nothing restrains but the Power of Neighbours ; and if one Neighbour is not strong enough for another, he gets another

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[3] Defoe, *HKP*, p. 23.

[4] Charles Shepherdson, 'The Role of Gender and the Imperative of Sex', in Copjec, ed., *Supposing the Subject*, 158-84, (p. 160); Defoe, *HKP*, p. 23; allowing Parliament magnipotence but not omnipotence wasn't, then, necessarily the gesture of opposition that Schonhorn, *Defoe's Politics*, p. 60, detects; and see *OED*, Vol. IX, **magnipotent**, p. 200, which cites "1727 DE FOE *Syst. Magic* I. iii. (1840) 84, "Satan, as he is a spirit, is magnipotent, but he never was omnipotent."

> Neighbour to join with him, and all the little ones will join to keep the great one from suppressing them. [5]

In its simple form, Defoe's paradigm of the ego as monarch resembles "the key to paranoia" located in Cartesian modernity [6]. Illustrating the idea "that the madman thinks he is other than he is", Lacan alluded to Descartes's "remark about 'those who think themselves arrayed in gold and purple'". Then, making his point about the "stasis of being in an ideal identification" that occurs when the subject is first alienated, he went on to cite Lichtenberg's aphorism, to the effect that "if a man who believes he's a king is mad, a king who believes he's a king is no less so" [7].

The variation above replaces the 'want' of power, both its desire and lack, with an opposition of group to individual. Yet, as Freud argued, "a certain external force is employed to prevent" artificial groups such as church and army—that Defoe's ambivalent parallel conflated as a gospel, or church, of war—"from disintegrating and to check alterations in their structure", commenting that "any attempt at leaving it is usually met with persecution or with severe punishment" [8]. Thus, the group whose formation keeps paranoia, personified as the overmighty individual, at bay, contains its own persecutory mechanisms. If Chapter 2 saw what Green calls "a logic of despair" in statements about the art of war, this death-driven doubleness frequently reveals a sadomasochistic logic, just as Defoe's ambivalent plain style often expresses "an extraordinary intolerance of ambivalence" [9].

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[5] Defoe, *The Two Great Questions Consider'd. I. What the French King will Do, with Respect to the Spanish Monarchy? II. What Measures the English ought to take?* (henceforth *TGQ1*), repr. in *TC*, pp. 346-66, (p. 357); advertised in *Flying Post*, No. 862.

[6] Lacan, 'Propos sur la causalité psychique', pp. 37-8, cited by Wilden in Lacan, *Speech and Language*, p. 129.

[7] Lacan, 'Propos', pp. 37-8; Lacan, *Ecrits* (Paris: Seuil, 1966), p. 172, cited by Julien, *Lacan's Return*, p. 37.

[8] Freud, 'Group Psychology', p. 93. A footnote later inserted suggested that, for "groups, the attributes 'stable' and 'artificial' seem to coincide or at least to be intimately connected."

[9] Green, 'Ordinary Modes of Thought', p. 22.

Tending to extremes, then, *The Two Great Questions* presented a more vulnerable England than the immediate situation warranted. In contrast to the nation's "very mean Figure abroad", William, without whom few "would trouble their heads to Confederate with her", is overvalued. This state of affairs is, further, said to be a secret, for "all the World does not yet see our weak Side, and the Reputation of the King makes us more formidable a great deal than we really are. But we are to act"

> according to the Knowledge we have of what our Circumstances really are, not what other Nations may believe them, lest we let them know our Weakness at the Price of our Destruction. [10]

Foregrounding martial success may locate Defoe's anxious attempt to master the unreason and "uncertainty" intimately linked to war's "familiar destructiveness" [11]. When, however, outside events breached his rhetorical position, rather than choose not to publish *The Two Great Questions*, Defoe affixed a simple caveat:

> The PREFACE.
>
> SInce *the following Sheets were in the Press, some Letters from* France *advise, that the King of* France *has saluted his Grandson the Duke* D'Anjou, *as King of* Spain.
>
> *Some of the most Intelligent Part of Mankind, think He has done so by way of* Politicks, *to see how the rest of* Europe *will resent it ; as He once did in a like Case, to the Prince of* Conti *as King of* Poland ; *whose Pretensions He did not think fit to pursue.*
>
> *The Author therefore thinks the following Sheets are as much to the purpose as they were before ; and without any farther recommendation refers the Reader to the Perusal.* [12]

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[10] Defoe, *TGQ1*, in *TC*, p. 356.
[11] Rose, 'Why War?', p. 17.
[12] Defoe, Preface, *TGQ1*, in *TC*, p. 346.

Despite the fact that Louis had now done what this tract argues was unlikely, the example of his short-lived support for the Prince of Conti served to justify the continued relevance of publication. The Preface's schematic division draws the reader's attention to the central paragraph. Rather than accept the common understanding of events, Defoe's second paragraph presses on with the historical parallel which, whilst it does not make the subsequent assertions any more accurate, suggests a desire to be right every time. Indeed, this procedure is repeated in the footnotes that were added when the work was reprinted in his *True Collection* [13].

If Defoe's separate Preface seems to mark the "intellectual vanity" Furbank and Owens have noted, his own idealized self-image leans on "the image of the ideal object", which William's real identity could not satisfy "on this earth" [14]. The drive towards mastery is, then, here inseparable from paradoxical images of an old man as a successful warrior, a rhetorical flaw that indicates the significance of *Jure Divino*'s specular identification with the king as he journied Heavenwards:

> Thus William went, I saw the saint ascend,
> And sympathetic joy did optic powers extend;
> I saw th'exalted hero at the gate,
> My soul went up with him, 'tis hardly come back yet. [15]

The "self-hatred" that fuels advocacy of war, projecting the aggression outwards in terms that Green describes as "a compromise between the desire to carry out an unquenchable revenge and, coexisting with this, the desire to protect the object from these hostile wishes directed towards him", is thus also "a sacrifice" [16]. Whilst the hollow satisfactions of

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13 See the footnote comment on renewal of the war in *TGQ1*, in *TC*, p. 353.
14 Furbank and Owens, *Canonization*, p. 141; Green, 'Ordinary Modes of Thought', p. 23.
15 Defoe, *JD*, repr. in *Works*, ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III, Bk I, pp. 7-8.
16 Green, 'Ordinary Modes of Thought', p. 23.

sacrifice are later discussed as motifs in his rhetoric, Defoe placed this revenge, said by Green to be "born from a wound" related to "disabled ... narcissicism" which cannot be consciously owned, at the start of *The Two Great Questions Consider'd* [17]. Its suggestive interpretation of this "ambiguous situation" nevertheless questions "whether, or to what extent, the attribution of meaning and the mechanisms of decision are controlled by" Defoe [18].

Green has called Freud's mechanism of the split ego an hypothesis in which "negation and simultaneity" bind "together" in defence [19]. The Preface negation is, then, arguably the key strategic move for two reasons. First, it enacts what Freud described as "a conflict between the demand by the instinct", in this instance the drive for recognition by the Other, "and the prohibition by reality" which, in this case, is not so much an absolute prohibition but the damage such a text might do potentially to his reputation [20]. Second, whilst Defoe there "rejects reality and refuses to accept any prohibition" of his rhetorical world, *The Two Great Questions* is subsequently split between either eventuality. Playing into jeopardy (literally 'a divided game'), the author "recognizes the danger of reality, takes over the fear of that danger as a pathological symptom and tries subsequently to divest himself of that fear" in a variety of ways [21]. Thus, to note only one example here, although the text is clearly written after 4 November, Defoe marks his account by slipping into inaccuracy when he writes that "the King of Spain (as if he had linger'd out his Days, only till ... the League now made for

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17 Green, 'Ordinary Modes of Thought', p. 22.

18 Vladimir Gheorgiou and Peter Kruse, 'The Psychology of Suggestion: An Integrative Perspective', in *Human Suggestibility: Advances in Theory, Research, and Application*, ed. by John F. Schumaker (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 59-75, (pp. 61-8).

19 Green, 'Negation and Contradiction', in *On Private Madness*, pp. 254-76, (p. 276).

20 Freud, 'Splitting of the Ego in the Process of Defence' (1940 [1938]), trans. by James Strachey (*SE* 23, 1964), pp. 275-8, (p. 275).

21 Freud, 'Splitting of the Ego', p. 275.

the Partition of the *Spanish Monarchy* ... was thus fix'd) dyes according to our Account on the 22. *of October last*" [22].

Defoe didn't promote war straightforwardly. Though, as will be seen, he first asserted that the Duke of Anjou might be independent from France and popular with his new people, *Reasons Against a War with France* of October, 1701, returned to the general view of the Bourbons as a group united by the grandfather's will, in which a son had passed his inheritance to the next generation, a view which in some sense questioned Defoe's maxim about everyman's desire for patriarchal power. Yet, in common with Tories and some Country Whigs, the same tract also seemed to find a sea war against the Spanish preferable to a land war. Linked to a deathly narrative that can be traced from *An Essay Upon Projects*, through *Jure Divino*, and into Defoe's Union rhetoric, this project to secure Spanish gold and colonies abroad was less unusual than his reflections on "the hast this Nation is in for a War, the Universal cry of the People during the last Session of Parliament, the ill will the Parliament has incurr'd with the generality, for not making so much hast as was thought requisite", that had a stance and tone very different from the *Legion Memorial*. Further, this text's delivery allowed at least one critic to take its title statement literally [23].

In his 1706 *Answer to Dyer*, Defoe stated that he could "not so much as Remember any Indecency of Expression against" Charles XII, "King of *Sweden*; if there was, I should Retract, and acknowledge it; for however I have wanted Money, Gentlemen, I have never wanted Manners, nor is it my way to treat any Body with Disrespect, much less Kings, no, not the King of *France*, I do not think his being Our Enemy, entitles me to use him like a

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[22] Defoe, *TGQ1*, in *TC*, pp. 350-1.

[23] Defoe, *Reasons Against a War with France, or An Argument Shewing That the French King's Owning the Prince of Wales as King of England, Scotland and Ireland; is No Sufficient Ground of a War* (T. 1756., (9.), pp. 1-30, 4°, 1701), repr. in *TC*, pp. 183-201, (p. 184). See *Tempus Adest: Or, A War Inevitable. With Some Motives For a Hearty Prosecution thereof. At A Conference Betwixt the Lyon and the Eagle. In Answer to a Late Pamphlet, Intituled, Reasons against a War.* (UL / GL: 3935, pp. 3-40, 8°, 1702).

Scoundrel" [24]. With Dyer in mind, Defoe's comments on a king but two weeks dead require assessment:

> WE are told, That the Deceased King of *Spain* has by his last Will bestow'd his Kingdoms on the Duke D'*Anjou*, Grandson to the Present King of *France*.
>
> Amongst the many weak Actions of that Effeminate Prince, who hardly ever did a Wise One, This is the most Ridiculous; if it be proper to give such an *Epithet* to the Actions of Sovereign Princes. [25]

Rhetoric has "no need", Plato's Gorgias argued, "to know the facts at all, for it has hit upon a means of persuasion that enables it to appear in the eyes of the ignorant to know more than those who really know" [26]. Defoe's "WE are told" introduces several registers into the first individual treatment of a still shocking event. Calmness in adversity creates an identification between speaker and audience that empowers a shift from agreement seeking to mutual opinion, so that the sentence, which initially seems no more than a statement of fact, can direct its scorn at Charles in a final query that radiates through this pamphlet. Whilst the undecided issue of propriety hints at a narrative direction, the real interest lies in the negation's mildness. Interpreting such moves was, it will be recalled, for Freud a matter "of disregarding the negation and of picking out the subject-matter alone of the association". Yet, since "the intellectual function is separated from the affective process" in negation, "a kind of intellectual acceptance of the repressed" occurs, "while at the same time what is essential to the repression persists" [27].

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[24] Defoe, *An Answer to Dyer* (NLS Copy, 1706), no TP, p. 2.
[25] Defoe, *TGQI*, in *TC*, p. 347.
[26] Plato *Gorgias*, cited in Stanley Fish, *Doing What Comes Naturally: Change, Rhetoric, and the Practice of Theory in Literary and Legal Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p. 472.
[27] Freud, 'Negation', pp. 235-6.

In contrast to Defoe, *The Partition Examin'd* asserted that the French would retain their newly acquired hold on Spain. Convicting the Spanish nobility of pragmatism in place of patriotism, its venom was then directed at their former master:

> If Spain therefore is hereditary, as is apparent by these proceedings of the two Kingdoms, then the Bequeathing of it at the Discretion of the Monarch *Charles* the *Second* lately deceased, argues as much Irregularity, as Weakness; and shews that there was too intimate a Sympathy between the imbecility of his Mind, and of his Body; and that before his Expiration he had as little strength of Intellect, as Constitution; for his Entrails were rotten, his Heart without blood, and his Brains were dissolved into a Slimy Humour. [28]

Compared with this overdone vilification, Defoe's approach seems measured. Yet, the "relation that the professional sellers of political services (politicians, political journalists, etc.) maintain with their clients is always mediated," writes Pierre Bourdieu, "and more or less completely determined, by the relation they maintain with their competitors", and in such instances his language rarely uses 'indecency of expression' to achieve its effect, for Defoe's disclaimers allow through repressed material at an intellectual level [29].

The emotional fear of a 'weak' king is thus contained and 'sent abroad', whilst the question of whether it is proper to call a king's actions ridiculous produces the defensive split visible throughout the rest of this tract. Both writers use the term weak / weakness. Linking it with femininity, however, Defoe inserts other prejudices, carrying through a gender-based attack which stresses action and subtextualizes illness. Charles's effeminacy disqualifies him from making fully legitimate choices. Thus, in contrast to *The Partition*'s excessive, and so less convincing, attack, the incompatible adjectives weak / wise point to the unspoken

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28 *The Partition Examin'd: and its Rejection by the French King Fully Stated* (8050.e.37., pp. 1-40, 4° 1701), p. 8; advertised in *Post Man*, 868, February, 8-11.

29 Bourdieu, *Distinction*, trans. by Richard Nice (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 183.

challenge around which *The Two Great Questions* is constructed. Criticism of the former king leads to a private scene which dramatizes the only motivation for Charles' changed will:

> I. As to the Nature of the Thing, it seems to be a Tacit Invitation to all the Competitors to a Dangerous and a Bloody War; as if the King of *Spain* shou'd have said to his Privy Council, *I'll be revenged on them all for attempting to divide our Dominions; for I'll give it to One that has no Title, let the Rest fight for it, and the longest Sword take all.* [30]

This imaginary scene, declaring its *as if*ness, places revenge at the centre of the succession problem, the revenge of a foolish, feminized, dying male [31]. Further, it implicates those heading the previous regime. Whilst Defoe's peculiar reversal thus implies that the Spanish, identified with their ruler, having nothing to lose seek a war, his new opponent had little time for the niceties of rightful inheritance. If the Spanish king had willed his crown to the Duke of Anjou, and if the people agreed, who was the "Considerer of these Questions" to say otherwise? This tag soon became less respectful:

> As to his first grand Question, *viz.* What measures the King of *France* will take with respect to the Succession of the *Spanish* Monarchy? This Question is fitter to be decided by an Astrologer than a Politician; and the little Conjurer near *Ludgate* is the fittest person to answer it: For what man can tell, without the assistance of the Stars, what Measures the *French* King will take in this Affair? What Measures has he not taken to enlarge his Dominions, and aggrandize the Glory of his Empire? And yet were any of these Measures known beforehand? Did he ever acquaint our Author, or any Soveraign Prince with his Designs? Have not his Ways been, like those of Providence, in the dark, and his Paths past finding out? Did our Author

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30 *TGQI*, in *TC*, p. 347.

31 Charles's fictional statement perhaps echoes Malvolio, "Ile be reveng'd on the whole pack of you". Act V. Sc. i, *A New Variorum Edition*, ed. by H. H. Furness, Vol. XIII (1901), p. 313.

> believe the *French* K. by a Treaty of Partition had any design of getting the whole to himself? [32]

The mockery of Defoe's predictive strategy illustrates a contemporary awareness of his possible motives for calling on providence. Providential rhetoric empowers a propagandist's predictions, strengthening a present position with confident assertions about the future. Yet Defoe's evasive and obfuscatory plots were well satirized here and elsewhere by the *Remarks*, in which extracts from the *Two Great Questions* were embedded. "The procedure of quoting", argues Heinrich Plett, "resembles that of tropification, since the resulting text always lends itself to two interpretations, namely a literal one and a non-literal one. For this reason a quotation text can be regarded as a "dual sign" ... since it admits of a *proprie* as well as of one or more *improprie* readings" [33]. After a particularly sarcastic passage has teased out the tacit politics of miraculous intervention, the Remarker reprints Defoe with a comment that punctures the pious tone for which he so often strives:

> *Page* 25. he goes on: "I know God can prevent Human "contrivances, and I believe he has plac'd King *William* on the *English* "Throne, on purpose to disappoint this Invincible Monarch in these "vast Designs; but no Thanks to our Gentlemen that have so "weak'ned both his Hands and his Interest at Home, as to make him "less able to perform for us what is our own Advantage, than His "majesty wou'd be, and than the Case requir'd.
>
> If ever Man petition'd in print for a Place, surely our Author does in this Book: But cannot he applaud the King, without abusing our Parliament in the same Paragraph? [34]

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[32] *Remarks Upon a Late Pamphlet Intitul'd, The Two Great Questions Consider'd ... Part I* (110.d. 28., 4°, 1700), pp. 3-4, (henceforth *RLP*). Bastian, *Early Life*, pp. 231-2, and p. 311, conjectures that Defoe waged a mock struggle against himself. Yet neither *Remarks* tract resembles his style, and the hard whig constitutional views and opinions on Standing Armies and the navy are much more like Tutchin. Citing Bastian, but without offering further evidence, Schonhorn, *Defoe's Politics*, p. 68, also sees "a good case ... for Defoe's authorship".

[33] Heinrich F. Plett, *Intertextuality* (Berlin : Walter de Gruyter, 1991), p. 10.

[34] *RLP*, p. 15; and, for the shifting status of miracles, see Lorraine Daston, 'Marvellous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe', *Crit I*, 18 (1991), 93-124.

This act of ingestion rewrites the original, its process of estrangement revealing the intention, saying overtly what else is there. As a result, when published on 3 December, *The Two Great Questions Further Consider'd*, engaged the *Remarks*:

> The Remarker tells us the Revolution was a Miracle, and so it was; but, says he, *'Twas a Miracle that we did not do it without Foreign help.* I am sure it wou'd ha' been a Miracle if we had ; and I Appeal to any Man that has not forgot the State of *England*, at that time, to be Judge of it.
>
> That we shou'd not reduce King *James* to Reason by our own Native Strength, was a Miracle, says he ; That is, that we did not rise and pull his Army to pieces ; if this Gentleman had not forgot his own Story, he cou'd never thus contradict himself.
>
> If our own Native Strength is so much Superior to an Army, that 'tis a Miracle they did not recover themselves without other help ; then *Ridiculus mus*, the dreadful Spectrum of a Standing Army is lost, and all our Danger of being enslav'd is at an end. [35]

If Defoe stated that he'd aimed only at anti-army writers, not Parliament, such a disavowal misrepresented propaganda's power, as it denied the earlier political reality. Whilst the *Remarks* capitalized well on several points, *The Duke of Anjou's Succession Consider'd*, discussing seven related contradictions, turned aside with the hope that "enough" had now been written

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[35] Defoe, *The Two Great Questions Further Consider'd. With some Reply to the Remarks* (1700), repr. in *TC*, pp. 367-83, (p. 370). "This Day is Publish'd", in *Post Man*, No. 837, for Nov. 3 -Dec. 3. Henceforth *TGQ2*. And see *Remarks upon the Two Great Questions. Part II. Wherein the Grand Question of all is Considered, viz. What the Dutch ought to do at this Juncture?* (1475.b.47., pp. i-ii. 1-20, 4°, 1701), adv. in *Post Man*, 859, Jan. 21-3, which identified Defoe's hand with the comment that "if I knew this honourable Author, I ... should treat him as a FOE to my Country", (pp. 1-2).

> to convince those Gentlemen of their mistake, who say, that when the Duke of *Anjou* is once settled in *Spain*, he will be as much a *Spaniard*, as if he had been born. [36]

The reference to "Gentlemen" implicitly slighted Defoe, the only writer to by then have made a similar, though rather more complex, point. But his new opponent, probably George Ridpath, had not forgotten a reflection that closed *The Two Great Questions*' lengthy discussion of the issue:

> So that all the King of *France* could get by accepting the Crown of *Spain*, would be a little present Satisfaction, to see a Son of the House of *Bourbon* on the *Spanish* Throne, but as King of *France* he wou'd not be One Farthing the better for it. [37]

If the defence of the Peace of Rhyswick undervalued Louis XIV's capabilities, the strong version of *The Two Great Questions*' hypothesis—that "If He be the same King of *France* that He always has been, who has rarely ... baulkt his own Interest, ... He will certainly adhere to the *Postulata* of his Alliance, and quietly accept the Partition"— suggested that his reward would be the "Acquisiton of *Italy*" and thus "Absolute Dominion of the *Mediterranean Sea*", hardly a comfortable state of affairs for English merchant shipping [38]. Further, Defoe envisaged that Louis might then, "whenever He thinks fit, re-establish the Old Kingdom of the *Lombards*, and annex it to the Title of *France* and *Navarre*."

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36 *The Duke of Anjou's Succession Consider'd* (114.l.53, pp. i-ii. 1-56, 4°, 1701), p. 9; repr. in *State Tracts*, III, pp. 22-44, adv. in *Post Man*, No. 852, Jan. 4-7.

37 *TGQ1*, in *TC*, pp. 353-4. *Post Man*, No. 862, Jan. 28-30, adv. *The Duke of Anjou's Succession Further Considered*, with the 4th edn. of Part I. Bastian, *Early Life*, pp. 238-9, attributes these best-selling discussions of the subject to Defoe without evidence. Yet *An Argument Against War: In Opposition to some late Pamphlets, Particularly; The First and Second Part of the Duke of Anjou's Succession Consider'd* ... (1609/5574, pp. 20, 4°, 1701), publ. Feb. 10, identified "the *Considerer*" as "the Author of the Flying-Post", George Ridpath (p. 2).

38 *TGQ1*, in *TC*, p. 351.

> And all this without the Expence of Treasure or Hazard of his Armies, without fitting out a Fleet, or fighting at Sea or on Shore; the *English* and *Dutch* being assistant to put him into the Possession of it.

Thus, beside the notion of Louis increasing his European territories with English and Dutch aid, even the weaker reading that it was "very unlikely, That the King of France should accept of this Legacy", sounded badly misjudged [39]. Despite France's continental encroachments, England took longer to engage in an alliance with the Emperor because he couldn't finance his family's political aspirations. Whilst they might support limited involvement in a land war, other writers still criticized recent diplomatic endeavours. One February 1701 tract, *The Succession of Spain Discuss'd*, asserted that French intentions behind the Treaty of Partition were "to induce the *Spaniards* (for fear of dismembering of their Monarchy) to exclude the House of *Austria*, and procure a Will of their King in Favour of a Prince of *France*". Declaring that "England and Holland have been finely prevaricated with", the writer proposed territorial exchanges to avoid war, and stated an increasingly common view: "We got nothing by the late War for all the Expence of Blood and Treasure we were at, but a Peace: We were to get nothing, that I know off [sic], by the Treaty of Partition, but a Prospect of the continuance of it" [40].

The Two Great Questions began by praising the Emperor, whose opposition to Louis is floated but found unlikely. Discussing the two monarchs sets up a parallel relationship. Again, the Emperor's chances are assessed, for "those Gentlemen, who in His behalf speak big and say, he is able to baffle all these Measures". Yet the Emperor's supporters were few and far between. In addition, Defoe's consequent discussion, his even bothering to mention the idea, by his own admission improbable, that "his Imperial Majesty who has hardly been able

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39 *TGQ1*, in *TC*, pp. 352-3.

40 *The Succession of Spain Discuss'd* ... (8122.f.2, pp. 1-28, 4°, 1701), p. 5, p. 24; adv. in *Post Man*, 864, Feb. 1-4.

to support himself this War, in Conjunction with the whole Confederacy of *Europe*, should imagine himself capable of putting a Check to the Power of *France*, in Conjunction with *England* and *Holland*;" has an odd ring to it, though perhaps no more so than the suggestion that Louis wouldn't take full advantage of Charles II's will. The point on which Defoe's discussion turns is, finally, a simple one:

> No Man can imagine, but the Emperor, to whose Son so considerable a Dominion is allotted, will accept of the Partition for his part, especially when he sees how impossible it will be to make better Conditions by Force. [41]

A little under a year later, Defoe's two *Great Question* pamphlets were, with both of the *Remarks*, translated into French. These translations respond to rhetorical minutiae, showing a critical estrangement which exceeds the problems of moving between languages. The French didn't try to reproduce either writers' colloquial idiosyncrasies, yet the *Remarks* translation approaches a neutrality often absent in the versions of Defoe's texts. Thus, *Examen de Deux Grandes Questions* cuts his Preface and the final discussion of Spanish trade, and subdued Defoe's scornful tone. Further, after mentioning the Duke of Burgundy's potential right to the Spanish throne, an allusion is made to "Docteur Davenant" and his "long Ecrit pour la défense du droit du Dauphin, car nous convenons qu'il a un droit incontestable à la succession", a position that was inimical to the argument Defoe had advanced [42].

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[41] *TGQ 1*, pp. 10-12.
[42] *Examen de Deux Grandes Questions* (8410.aaa.6. (3), 8°, 1701), pp. 9-10.

a Consecrated Host

> ... where the fear of God is wanting, it comes about either that a kingdom is ruined, or that it is kept going by the fear of a prince, which makes up for the lack of religion. And because princes are short-lived, it may well happen that when a kingdom loses its prince, it loses also the virtue of its prince. Hence kingdoms which depend on the virtue of one man do not last long [...]. [43]

The Two Great Questions debate of November and December represented two- thirds of Defoe's 1700 output. In January alone he now published *The True-Born Englishman*, two election tracts, a reply to John Howe about Occasional Conformity, and *The Danger of The Protestant Religion Consider'd.* Yet, aside from that last tract which, by foregrounding religion, avoided the difficulties his earlier strategies had encountered, Defoe took less note of foreign affairs for the rest of 1701. Arguing that "that he who would be willing to have this Nation return to her Obedience to a Popish King, can[not] be a proper Person to be Consulted with in Parliament about securing and defending the Protestant Religion", *The Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament-Man* drew on a figure of contradiction—"this were to pull down what we intend to build"—that supported his argument with John Howe and others over Occasional Conformity [44].

"Formerly", Defoe reflected, "we had Kings who did what they pleas'd, now we have a King who lets [us] do what we please", yet the identification that follows interestingly rewrites the ideological link with Christ made by previous monarchs:

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[43] Niccolò Machiavelli, *Machiavelli: The Discourses*, ed. with an intro. by Bernard Crick, trans. by Leslie J. Walker. S. J., rev'd. by Brian Richardson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), I. 11. p. 141.

[44] Defoe, *The Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament-Man* (c. 122.e.25. pp. 1-23, 4°, 1700), repr. in *TC*, pp. 271-83, (p. 277). Henceforth *SDC.*

> And yet we *Englishmen* are not contented, but, as it were with our Saviour, when our Kings come Eating and Drinking, they cry, *Behold a Gluton and a Drunkard* ; and now they have a King that comes neither Eating nor Drinking, they cry out, *He has a D—l.* [45]

Although a similar comparison can be found in *Luke*, 7. 33-5, Defoe's precise reference is to *Matthew*, 11. 18-9. Comparing William with John the Baptist, rather than with Christ, thus reverses the historical narrative whilst retaining the theme of sacrifice. Despite his recent disagreement over miracles with the Remarker, this 4 January tract ended on similar ground by discussing God's own providential use of contradiction:

> Unless our Members are Men of Morals, we must expect very few Laws against Immorality ; and if there should such clean things come out of an unclean, it would be all Heteredox [sic] and Unnatural ; 'twould be like a monstrous Birth, the Parent would be affraid [sic] of it, and it would be asham'd of its Parent. [46]

God, then, may "oftentimes" use "improper Methods, and unlikely Instruments," but his Providence rarely works "by Contraries". Further, reflects Defoe, "we are not to confine him to show his Power, and oblige him to make use of such Instruments as he can have no Pleasure in,"

> least he should think fit to refuse his blessing, and make the Work abortive ; or at least delay his Concurrence to the Work of our reformation, till we shall think fit to chuse such Persons for the carrying it on, as are fit to be employed in so great a Work. [47]

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[45] Defoe, *SDC*, in *TC*, p. 273.
[46] Defoe, *SDC*, in *TC*, p. 282; and see Daston and Katherine Park, 'Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and England', *Past and Present*, 92 (1981), 20-54.
[47] Defoe, *SDC*, in *TC*, p. 283.

Later, on 23 January, referring positively to the tract above, *The Free-Holders Plea Against Stock-Jobbing Elections* returned to the subject by attacking the influence of the money-markets on candidate selection. Repeating the opposition of division and union throughout, Defoe figuratively linked death with division when, citing the "late Parliaments", that "Establish'd two great Rivals in Trade, the Old and the New *East-India* Companies", he wrote that "since they are not in being, 'tis not very Honourable you'l [sic] say, to speak ill of the Dead" [48]. After the familiar line that "Nothing can preserve us at home, nor enable us to Assist and Defend the Protestant Religion abroad ... but Union among our Selves", Defoe's exaggerations grow more fierce as he warns "let us be careful that we are not bought and sold, *Stock-jobb'd* into Ruin; that our Liberties and Armies, and Fleets, and Parliaments, and Nation, are not Lump'd into Bargains; and handed about at the Coffee-houses and *Exchange*, from whence they may be *Jobb'd* ... and a Price be set upon us, by which we shall make Peace, or War, at the pleasure of our Enemies" [49].

Defoe leaps from the realistic possibility that those buying Parliamentary seats will look to profit from them, to envisaging a loss of national and governmental autonomy through international speculation. Risking implosion, an increasingly hysterical violence supports claims that lapse back finally into a position comparable with the initial idea: "As there is more meant by this than is express'd, so there is more Mischief hid under the Practice than I can describe."

> It becomes us therefore to crush the Brat in its Birth, and render all the hopes of our Enemies abortive, by a just Contempt of all such People, who, by any Methods so scandalous, attempt to get into the Directing part of the Government.

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[48] Defoe, *The Free-Holders Plea Against Stock-Jobbing Elections of Parliament Men* (pp. 1-27, 4°, 1701), repr. in *TC*, pp. 166-83, (p. 167). Henceforth *FHP*, and see p. 175, for the *SDC* allusion.
[49] Defoe, *FHP*, pp. 182-3.

> For this seems to be a plain Consequence, *That he who makes use of any Clandestine Methods to get into the House of Commons, must have some Clandestine Design to carry on when he is there.* [50]

Continuing to identify Sir Charles Duncombe as the worst sort of Stock-Jobber, *The Free-Holders Plea* included a version of *The True-Born Englishman*'s comment that "it wou'd be a pity, / But such as he bore Office in the City", also used as the epigraph for *The Livery Man's Reasons.* Published when Parliament returned on 6 February, this attack on Duncombe linked expulsion and death [51]. Assuming the persona of a Liveryman, Defoe wrote that "we did not give our Consent to make him our Chief Magistrate", because "the Supream Expositors of our Laws and Accounts ; the Parliament had by Unanimous Suffrage, Voted" Duncombe "Guilty of such a Crime, as they thought sufficient to Expel him their House", and continued with the reflection that

> To expel men from the Society of a Party or Body of People, is the highest executive part of Power any Body of People have; all Punishments besides, are inferior to it.
>
> Death inflicted on a Capital Malefactor is fully express'd thus, That such a one having committed a detestable and execrable Crime, as Murther or Treason is ; Put to Death, that is, expell'd the World as unfit for Humane Society ... when an Offender was burnt in the Hand, 'twas a Custom to make him kneel down and Pray God to bless the King, as an acknowledgment of his Majesty's Mercy, in dismissing him with so light a Punishment, where a greater was deserved. [52]

Having constructed this metaphoric substitution, Defoe's historical analogy of the body politic, in which "the Speaker of the House of Commons ... told Sir *Robert* [*Payton*] *the House*

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50 Defoe, *FHP*, p. 183.

51 See Defoe, *FHP*, p. 180; Defoe, *TBE*, p. 61.

52 Defoe, *The Livery Man's Reasons, Why He Did Not Give His Vote for a Certain Gentleman either, to be Lord Mayor; or, Parliament Man for the City of London* (pp. 3-27, 4°, 1701), p. 11. Henceforth *LMR.*

spued him out", makes death's final 'destructiveness' more 'intimate' [53]. Whilst, then, the death drive can be seen in his treatment of home affairs, I now want to examine its presence in the discussion of continental events Defoe published on 9 January. If, as Bourdieu asserts, "the production of ideas about the social world is always in fact subordinated to the logic of the conquest of power, which is the logic of the mobilization of the greatest number", the balance of power theory disguised England's own expansionist aims [54]. Religion wasn't the prime consideration of those involved in the Succession War, nor were England's future allies likely to be all Protestant, yet Defoe's imperialist ethic needed to be able to take its own innocence seriously.

For this reason, rationalizing what was seen as defensive violence in terms of Christianity's division, he introduced sacrificial identifications into *The Danger of the Protestant Religion.* As with the initial *Two Great Questions* tract, the curt Preface "To the KING" is an integral part of Defoe's tract. Distorting some issues, it gives the author's identity a parallel relationship with William. The second paragraph begins, "As such"; frequent repetition of this phrase in the next paragraph inserts an admonishing tone. Defoe's 'hero-worship' or, perhaps more accurately, his use of ideal identifications cannot be separated from his immediate rhetorical aims. By the time, then, that "the Author of these Sheets humbly Addresses them to Your Majesty", the kingly figure has been firmly manoeuvred into a supporting role [55].

Though less fulsome than Dennis's call, in June, 1702, to "Divine Religion ... whose melting Eyes mourn" the memory of "thy Lover, and thy best belov'd", the next paragraph's male-

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53 Defoe, *LMR*, pp. 12-3.

54 Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p. 181.

55 Defoe, *The Danger of the Protestant Religion Consider'd. From the Present Prospect of a Religious War in Europe* (3926.b.7., pp. i-ii. 1-32, 4°, 1701), repr. in *TC*, pp. 223-54, (p. 223). Henceforth *DPR*.

controlled voyeurism fuels both a call to arms and splits an anxiety state into the Preface's feminization of religion as passive and vulnerable, and the active male who must defend her:

> *The* Protestant Religion *seems to stretch forth her Hands to Your Majesty, as to her Constant Protector; You may view her in a Posture of Trembling at the Formidable Prospect of her Encreasing Enemies, and pointing to the Confederacies that are making against Her.* [56]

If the personifying analogy doesn't supply an entire image, the ambiguous deference of "seems" hints at how the addresser now resembles a proprietor, or someone at least who potentiates a vision. Defoe's rhetoric thus reverses the reality, empowering itself. Pairing military conflict and Protestantism, to the detriment of any larger identity or normative experience, to assert that "the Liberty the Protestants enjoy, has, next to God's Goodness, been the Purchase of the Sword, at the Price of the Blood and Treasure of the People", can thus be seen to reflect, if on a larger scale, a similar narrative of empowerment [57].

Defoe's fixation with military endeavours, together with his pursuit through symbolic identities, such as William or Gustavus Adolphus, of a certain male centred ideology is, however, permeated by levels of transgression. *The Danger of the Protestant Religion* includes both figures early on. Once "the King of Denmark, who headed the Protestants", had been "overthrown at the Battel of Kings-Lutter", the Emperor enlarged his dominions, and "the Victorious *Tilly* trampled down Religion, with the Fury of a True Son of *Rome*".

> The Protestants in this Distress, as we did lately here in a like Case, fly to a Neighbouring Prince for Protection. *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, a

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[56] John Dennis, *The Monument: a Poem Sacred to the Immortal Memory of the Best and Greatest of Kings, William the Third King of Great Britain,* &c. — MS note, "18. June" (161.l.34., pp. xii. 48, 4°, 1702), p. 3; Defoe, DPR, in TC, p. 224.
[57] Defoe, *DPR* in *TC*, p. 227.

> King, who perhaps never had a Parallel till now, came to their Assistance with only Twelve thousand Men; he Landed at *Straelsundt*; took all the Dutchies of *Pomeren* and *Mecklenburgh*; secur'd the Duke of *Brandenburgh*'s Country, and enters *Saxony* just as *Tilly* had resolv'd to ruin it: *Tilly* meets him with an Army of Forty-Thousand Old Soldiers, is overthrown, and his troops entirely ruin'd at the Battel of *Leipsick*. ---- God, whose Instrument this Gallant King more particularly was, carried him on with such a Prodigious Course of Victory, that in Two years he over run two Third parts of the Empire; settled all the Protestant Princes free and uninterrupted in the Possession of their Liberties and Religion. [58]

Presenting Gustavus Adolphus as a divine instrument opposes any realist political interpretation, as it echoes the line taken in the remainder of the Preface. Yet the two military leaders are circumscribed by Defoe's pragmatic strategy. Assessing the Emperor's possible allies, *The Succession of Spain Discuss'd* drew a more sceptical conclusion from the same historical events:

> It is not unlikely, but he may also either engage the *Danes* or *Swedes* in his Quarrel in time; but if they should both do it, its more than ever yet happen'd between those two Nations; and, 'tis remarkable, that when the Religion and Liberty of Germany lay at stake in the time of *Ferdinand* II. *Gustavus Adolphus* never came into the Field till King *Christian* of *Denmark* was beaten out of it, and forced to dishonourable Terms of Peace. [59]

Asserting that "the Trifles of Property or Prerogative" should be put to one side until Protestantism was secure, Defoe picks up the phrase of the moment. He thus uses religion and, ultimately, God's own supposed view, to make local political considerations irrelevant.

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[58] Defoe, *DPR*, in *TC*, pp. 227-8.

[59] *The Succession of Spain Discuss'd*, p. 10.

This approach, however, does not in any sense give William a free hand against his Parliamentary opposition.

> *We know that the Almighty Power, from whom all Human Strength is deriv'd, is able to preserve the* Protestant Religion; *and that without even Your Majesty, or your Parliament's Assistance.*
>
> *But as He always works by Means and Instruments, and has always own'd Your Majesty as an Instrument in his Hands for this Glorious Work; so your Majesty is desir'd to reflect, that it wou'd be a Singular Mark of Heaven's Displeasure, if for want of a Continued Regard to the Security of that Religion which God has entrusted Your Majesty and this Nation with the Protection of, He shou'd be oblig'd to re- assume the Special and Immediate Care of it Himself, and take the Work out of our Hands.* [60]

If these lines contain a purely rhetorical threat, they also affirm that God, or the highest good, desires war. Since this masculine identity 'always works by Means and Instruments', having no unmediated presence the rationale behind this urge to destroy cannot be questioned. Verbal repetition, and the opposition of 'in his Hands' / 'out of our Hands', suggests however, that a feared loss or lack spurs the violent fantasies of militaristic culture. The final anxiety expressed here is that the symbol '*He*', as the origin of violence, may also remove the necessity and duty of 'work', which thus takes on further resonance to become existence itself, indefinable, and uncontrollable. Defoe's overall approach shifts position whilst directing attention elsewhere.

Just as *The Two Great Questions*' initial thesis, which underplayed French power whilst overvaluing the Emperor's status, had been reversed by halfway, seeming to face events directly, Defoe's propaganda here recaptures lost ground and works through several ambivalences to produce an internal destabilizing impetus whilst it abandons previous

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60 Defoe, *DPR*, in *TC*, p. 225.

rhetorical commitments. Problematizing the motives behind public spiritedness, the *Remarks* had shown how Defoe's rhetoric gained power by destabilizing its readership. Defoe had first, then, to reassert his status as a questioner, and the defence of religion was the practical choice. Thus, 'The Conclusion' attempted to reconstruct the topic of miracles:

> 'Tis true, God Governs the World, and in his Government of the World he has ordered that we should Govern ourselves by Reason. God has subjected even the ways of his Providence to Rational Methods, and Outward Means agree to it. The great Chain of Causes and Effects is not interrupted, even by God himself; if it be, it is on Extraordinary Occasions, which we call Miracles. Now according to the Nature of Causes and Consequences, the Argument for our Care of Religion must be good; as to those People who look for Miracles, I have nothing to say to them. [61]

The parallels between William and Gustavus Adolphus suggest further unexplored tensions; for, after Tilly's defeat left "the Protestant Princes free and uninterrupted in the Possession of their Liberties and Religion", an abrupt narrative twist occurs:

> And though he lost his Life at the famous Battel of *Lutzen*, though his Party was afterwards basely forsaken by the Duke of *Saxony*, who had been twice sav'd from Ruin by them; though the *Swedes* were routed at the Battel of *Nordlingen*, yet they carried the War on with success, 'till they reduc'd the Emperor to demand a Peace, in which the Liberty and Religion of *Germany* was entirely setled on the Foot whereon it now stands. [62]

The Treaty of Westphalia, which *The Two Great Questions* had also mentioned, thus sets up a parallel in which the warrior is finally less relevant. Yet Gustavus Adolphus's sacrificial status links him to the other symbolic figures who later parade through Defoe's gallery.

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[61] Defoe, *DPR*, in *TC*, p. 254.
[62] Defoe, *DPR*, in *TC*, p. 228.

Likening the linked fortunes of Protestantism and Catholicism to two buckets in a well, his reminder to "those who wou'd stand Neuter in this Cause ... that God Almighty has declar'd against such as are lukewarm Christians", echoes the Preface's gendered approach:

> There is no Neuter Gender in Religion. In the cause of Religion, They who are not for him, are against him; the Defence of the Protestant Religion calls upon all Men who have any value for it, to appear in the time of its Danger: Defend Religion and Politick Interests will be easily secur'd; *à jove principium, God and your Country*; but first God, and then your Country. [63]

Later, Defoe inaccurately asserts "that *English* Parliaments have always had a deep Resentment at the Growth of *Popery*, and the Danger of the Protestant Religion; and there is, no doubt, but an *English* Parliament will ever maintain the same Sentiments" [64]. Thus, to digress briefly, when challenging Sir Humphrey Mackworth's defence of the House of Commons in December 1701, his *Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England* argued that Parliaments "might comply with Kings to the Ruine of the Nation", or "Quarrel with Kings to the overturning of the Constitution", illustrating the former point with a discussion of religious changes after Henry VIII:

> Queen *Mary* Re establish'd Popery, and unravelled both the Reformation of King *Edward*, and all the Acts of Church and State relating to her Mothers Divorce, *and still the Parliament consented.* One *Parliament* Voted Queen *Mary* Legitimate, and Queen *Elizabeth* a Bastard : Another Parliament Legitimated Queen *Elizabeth*, and Repudiated Queen *Mary*. Queen *Elizabeth* undid all her Sister had done, and suppress'd all the proceedings of Popery ; and *all was by Authority of Parliament.*

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[63] Defoe, *DPR*, in *TC*, p. 228.
[64] Defoe, *DPR*, in *TC*. p. 253.

> So that this Parliamentary Branch of Power is no more Infallible than the Kingly. [65]

It was, further, this pamphlet that evaluated constitutional relations in terms of the conflict betweeen life and death. Alongside the physical mortality of individual rulers, Defoe argued that, in symbolic terms, the "*Commons* also are Mortal, as a House", since "a King may Dissolve them, they may die, and be extinct". By contrast, "the power of the People has a kind of Eternity with respect to Politick Duration : Parliaments may cease, but the People remain ; for them they were originally made, by them they are continued and renew'd, from them they receive their Power, and to them in reason they ought to be accountable" [66].

To return now to *The Danger of the Protestant Religion*, having mentioned one king's unexpected death, Defoe went on to discuss two more in increasingly precise terms. Henry III, "being stabb'd by *James Clement a Jacobine Fryar*, he fell a Sacrifice to the fury of the *Guises*, and the Crown devolv'd to the King of *Navar*, *Henry* the IV. the Head of the Protestants". The next page then discussed the Dutch resistance against the Spanish:

> This War begun by the Prince of *Orange*, the famous Predecessor of our present King, was carried on with various success; and the Union of the Seven Provinces, which we now call the States of Holland, was form'd headed and protected by him, 'till he was murther'd by *Balthazar Gerrard*, at the procurement of the *Spaniards*, being shot with two Bullets through the Body, as he was going from Dinner into a Withdrawing Room in his Palace at *Delft*. [67]

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[65] Defoe, *The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England, Examined and Asserted* (93.d.14. (26.) pp. 24. fol., 1702), repr. in *TC*, pp. 133-66, (p. 149). Henceforth *OP*.
[66] Defoe, *OP* in *TC*, (p. 164).
[67] Defoe, *DPR* (1701), pp. 5-6, in *TC*, p. 230.

Combining the historian's overview with a drama of incidentals, Defoe shifts from unspecified knife wounds to an alliterative act as "two Bullets" pass "through the Body", halting its progress from one room into a second. As he stages the ordinary, pleasurable events that preceded William the Silent's death on 10 July, 1584— eating a meal, only to be caught between the interminable present of a fictional memory and that "Withdrawing Room", a place of private safety—the excess that encapsulates the death drive's going beyond is doubled. The rooms, then, are places that cannot be returned to, in the "going from" this life. This motif of the tragic individual sacrifice, balanced against the greater good, not only underscores the tract's narrative dynamics, it also emphasizes the value such figures have in Defoean rhetoric. Yet, only "half a year after his flight to Holland", as Herbert Rowen writes of the figure Defoe uses to cap his argument about religion, "William, a Lutheran for the first decade of his life and then a Catholic, although one with Erasmian attitudes, and now again "a sort of Lutheran", formally became a Calvinist" [68].

'The Conclusion', appropriately enough, ends with an antithetical figure, an act that would mean different things to Protestants and Catholics, in a subtle shift of response to the argument that "in all the ill Practices of the World, the Revolutions of States, Rebellions of Subjects, and Tyranny of Princes, *Religion is the Mask* to hide the Deformity of the Monster conceal'd." Defoe's confusion of category, then, produces a memorable image that obeys a sacrilegious logic all its own:

> ... I make Answer in the Words of the Prince of Denmark, in the Letter he wrote to the late King James, on his joining with the Prince of Orange, our present King, at his coming into England ;

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[68] Herbert H. Rowen, 'William I: From Courtier to Rebel', in *The Princes of Orange: The Stadholders in the Dutch Republic*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History, ed. by J. H. Elliott, Olwen Hufton, and H. G. Koenigsburger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 8-31, (p. 14).

> *That were not Religion the most justifiable Cause, it would not be made the most specious Pretence.*
>
> And to this Quotation I shall add ; You may as well argue against the Christian Church Administring the Eucharist, because Henry VII. Emperor of *Germany*, was Poyson'd by a Consecrated Host. [69]

Defoe returned to the practice of asking "Two Grand questions" in *The Present State of Jacobitism Considered*, of late September, 1701. More, repeating the earlier strategy of negation, he claimed that "I cannot Foresee"

> upon what possible pretence the present King of *France* can acknowledge the Son of King *James* as his Successor to the Crown of *England*, he at the same time having made a Peace with the possessor as King of the same Country. [70]

Defoe's closing "Observations on the Death of this unhappy man" thus reversed his position on Louis's earlier recognition of James II. After declaring that he was "no Dreamer of Dreams nor Observer of Omens ; But the Conjunctions of Periods of Circumstances in the Actions of Princes, seem to have Strong Intimations in them of the Secret Concurrence of things with their Causes", Defoe continued by linking James's bloody deeds as king with the manner of his own death [71]. "Some who are near Related to the Families who suffered under him",

> such as Collonel *Sydny, Armstrong, Cornish, My Lord Russel*, and the like, whose Blood they lay at his Door, make an Observation that he Dyed of a Flux of Blood both upward and downward, which continued till nature was perfectly

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[69] Defoe, *DPR*, in *TC*, p. 254.

[70] Defoe, *The Present State of Jacobitism Considered, In Two Querys. 1. What Measures the French King will take with Respect to the Person and Title of the Pretended Prince of Wales. 2. What the Jacobites in England Ought to do on the same account* (T. 1676. (5.) pp. i-iii. 1-22, 4°, 1701), p. 3. Henceforth *PSJ*.

[71] Defoe, *PSJ*, p. 20.

> Exhausted, and then a *Lethargick* Vapour, as is usual in such cases, seiz'd on him, in which he Dyed. [72]

The Present State of Jacobitism's idiosyncratic mix of rhetorics also echoed *The Succession to the Crown of England, Considered*, published earlier in the year, which has produced so many "ingenious" readings [73]. Before concluding with that work I want, however, to suggest the complexity of Defoe's tactics at this time by first looking briefly at *The True-Born Englishman*, in which Pocock detected the use of Leveller arguments. For, discussing the parallel between William III and William the Conqueror, he read the lines, "No Parliament his Army cou'd disband ; / *He rais'd no Money, for he paid in Land*", as a critique of the Commonwealth Militia supporters that William Pittis in fact seemed to believe had penned these words [74]. Quoting *The True-Born Englishman* from "The great Invading *Norman*" to "And *Doomsday-Book* his Tyranny Records", Pittis asked, "What Parallel is there between the Case of *William the Conqueror*," when "King *Harold* gave him Battle, and oppos'd Force to Force," and "our Times," when "His present Majesty was receiv'd by the Consent of the People, invited over by the Nobility and Gentry, and Establish'd in a Throne, which the whole Power of *Holland* could not have plac'd him in without our own Concurrence" [75].

The poet, reflected Pittis, was then "a Leveller, and though he flatters King *William*, is but for making one Estate of the Three the Nation is compos'd of, and reducing the People under the Government of the People, as in the Year 48" [76]. Later, seeing a reference to John Cleveland's couplet, "Had *Cain* been *Scot*, God would have changed his doome, / Not forc'd him wander, but confin'd him home", in the lines "*For as the* Scots ... *their Wandring*

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[72] Defoe, *PSJ*, pp. 21-2.
[73] J. A. Downie, 'Defoe's Early Writings', *RES* n.s., XLVI:182 (1995), 225-30, (p. 229).
[74] Defoe, *TBE*, p. 13; Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, pp. 433-4.
[75] William Pittis, *The True-Born Englishman: A Satyr, Answer'd Paragraph by Paragraph.* 2nd edn corr. (1607/4695, pp. i-vi. 88, 1701), p. 19. Henceforth *TBEA.*
[76] *TBEA*, p. 20.

Seed ha' spread," Pittis commented that "[t]he travelling of the Scots, is an Argument of their Enquiries after Knowledge, a Vertue for which they are unreproachable" [77]. Yet his Answer was based on, or at least wished to perpetuate, a belief that the poet was one who had been "for[c]ed to fly from the *Scourges* of *Ireland* ; and Hospitably received". None other, then, than "Mr. *T*——", or John Toland, the author of a poem singled out for attack in *The Two Great Questions Further Consider'd* [78].

Replying to the Remarker, Defoe had there commented that "when I say, *There are a sort of People who have appear'd such Champions of our English Liberty, as to damn all kind of Force as useless*", surely "no Rational Man cou'd suppose" that he had meant Parliament. Rather, he had referred to "That Club"

> that sent out a blasphemous Poem lately under the borrow'd Name of *Clito*, where the Deity of our Saviour is denied, and then the very Being of the English Monarchy undermin'd.
>
> That Club that denies Englishmen the use of their Reason, and will not allow that even the Parliament of *England* can appoint such Powers as are necessary to our Defence. [79]

If Cicero provided its epigraph, picturing "all nature" as "perpetual flux" *Clito*, as Stephen Daniel noted, reflected Giordano Bruno's "themes and imagery" [80]. In spite of the publisher's claims for the poem's orthodoxy, it thus needed only slight exaggeration to call it 'blasphemous', yet Christ wasn't mentioned, much less his divinity [81]. "The Branch of

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77 Pittis, *TBEA*, pp. 30-1; citing 'The Rebel Scot', ll. 63-4, in *The Poems of John Cleveland*, ed. by Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), pp. 29-32, (p. 30).

78 *TBEA*, pp. 1-3.

79 Defoe, *TGQ2*, in *TC*, pp. 372-3.

80 Stephen H. Daniel, *John Toland: His Methods, Manners, and Mind*, McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Ideas: 7 (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), pp. 202-3.

81 See 'Preface' signed 'W. H.' (William Hewet), John Toland, *Clito: A Poem on the Force of Eloquence.* (11631.d.54, pp. iii-iv, 5-22, 4°, 1700), p. iv.

Peace, and Thunderbolt of War", as Toland described William, was the saviour of "Our Laws, Religion, Arms, our Coin and Trade". His lack of issue, however, was not seen as a negative factor by one who had already visited the Hanoverian Court, for "oft a just and valiant Prince's Name / Degenerate Sons by horrid Crimes defame". Looking back then, *The Two Great Questions* tracts were diametrically opposed to Whig writers who, like Toland, could write:

> O potent *Britain !* thy worst Foes subdu'd,
> The proudest Kingdoms for thy Friendship sue,
> ... Thy Sons shall reap fresh Laurels near and far,
> Umpires of Peace and Leaders still in War. [82]

From here on the poem gives up any pretence to philosophical value, imagining a Protestant war against Louis and the global destruction of "other Monsters, worse than ... Tyrants", such as other religions [83]. Though its massive success made it impossible not to own, the anonymous *True-Born Englishman* may, then, have been written to reverse what Defoe felt were the negative effects of a levelling club by introducing ideological distortion into its rhetoric of "*Force*", just as *The Danger of the Protestant Religion* utilized the theme of religious violence for other purposes.

Part of the same rhetorical strategy, it is then hardly surprising that Defoe never acknowledged *The Succession to the Crown of England*, published during the Parliamentary session that began in February, 1701, which opened thus:

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[82] Toland, *Clito*, pp. 12-3.
[83] Toland, *Clito*, p. 14.

> IT was Remarkable, That the Very Day the *Peace* was Proclaim'd in *London*, the Moon was in a Total Eclipse, which happened to be extreamly Visible, just as we were making Bonefires for Joy.
>
> I am no Dreamer of Dreams, nor the Son of a Prophet ; but I cou'd not avoid having some little Concern at the Sight, it seem'd so Directly to tell us, *That our Peace would have some unexpected Eclipse.* [84]

This text's mixture of the marvellous and constitutional argument link it to *The Present State of Jacobitism.* Reviving Monmouth's barred name, its narrative of troubled identification, rebellion, and bloody death, sets up an ambivalent position from the outset, since his attempt was "not so much founded on his *Right by Birth*, as upon the *Maleadministration* of *King James*, but withal referring the *Examination of his own Legitimacy to a Free Parliament*, but he lost the *Day* and his *Life* ; and so the Legitimacy of his Birth remains *undiscovered* to this day, and he stands *attainted in blood* by Parliament, as an *effectual Bar* against any Claim in his Posterity" [85].

Defoe's comments to Harley in 1704 are not only a more likely indication of the *Succession* author's attitude to Monmouth, they also perform a similar swerve, or displacement of value. For, asserting that "the People are Not So Apt to Love, as to hate," and that, when the "Former is Fixt on a Person, it Ought to Implye Some Merit", he reflected that

> This is Not Universally True for the People Sometimes Love by Antithesis, and Sho' a Generall Affection to One Person, to sho' Their Disesteem of his Enemy, and This May be Visible in the Case of the Duke of Munmouth, who Really had Not a Great Deal of Personall Merit.

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[84] *The Succesion to the Crown of England, Consider'd* (100.l. 12., pp. 3-38, 4°, 1701), p. 3. Henceforth *SCE*.
[85] *SCE*, p. 10.

Ending with the claim that "A Man May be Popular without Merit, But That Popularity will Neither be usefull, nor Serviceable", Defoe imposed a moralistic reading on a more complex perspective [86]. For, if the Freudian social bond—which has both ethical and narcissistic implications—ultimately illustrates what Laplanche and Pontalis call "a conflict of ambivalence (*Ambivalenz Konflikt*), one of whose principal dimensions is", in Freud words, "a well-grounded love and a no less justifiable hatred towards one and the same person", Defoe's example of loving by antithesis produces a double equation [87]. Having introduced Monmouth as one who was willing to hazard his life, Defoe noted that, despite those "calling our *Government* an *Elective Monarchy*, yet they cannot give us one Instance in all the last *Settlement*, wherein the *Parliament*, whatever Right they have to *alter* it, have not kept close to the *Right of Descent*, and followed the Right Line,"

> unless they will suppose that the *Administration* remaining in King *William* during his Life, be an Infraction into the *Line of Succession*, which if the Doctrine of *Abdication* be true, would be hard to make out. [88]

The bar of illegitimacy finds, then, a parallel in the Catholicism "of those Princes, who ... by our Laws are *Barr'd* from inheriting the *Crown*". Having dismissed them, the tract makes its least ambiguous statement: "The House of *Hannover* therefore,"

> is the *only Line* which with an undisputed Right of *Descent* stands fair to Claim the *Crown* of *England*; and the present Elector of *Hannover*, being the Eldest Son of the Lady *Sophia*, before named, and Great Grandson to *James the* First, King of *England*, is without doubt the Next Heir of the *Crown*. [89]

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[86] Defoe, 'Letter 14. *To* Robert Harley. [*July-August 1704?*]', in *LDH*, pp. 29-50, (p. 41).
[87] 'Ambivalence', in *LP*, pp. 26-9 (p. 28); Freud, *Inhibitions, Symptoms, and Anxiety* (1926), p. 102; and see Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen, 'The Freudian Subject: From Politics to Ethics', in *The Emotional Tie: Psychoanalysis, Mimesis, and Affect*, trans. by Douglas Brick and others (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 15-35.
[88] *SCE*, p. 20.
[89] *SCE*, pp. 21-2.

Defoe's emphasis here on the link to James I serves to question the later assertion that "One thing I believe the *Succession of this Prince* would bring *with it*, which I am afraid no other *Succession* will, and that is, it may preserve *the present Union of* Scotland" [90]. Indeed, this is only one of the many instances in which this text either negates its own claims or constructs antithetical positions. Monmouth's main identification is contained in the concept of gallantry, that combines both libidinal energy and the risk of military success. Yet, if it remained the case that "the *Blood of that Gallant Man*", or the matter of his legitimacy, remained unexamined, the series of statements and rhetorical questions which follow cause confusion by combining separate issues. Thus, whilst the "*Protestant Religion*, for which he ventur'd is restor'd", so too is "the *Blood* of some of his *Adherents* and *Familiars*", said to be "restored by *Parliament*, and their *Attainder* taken off" [91].

These acts of restoration are in no sense similar and, strictly speaking, Protestantism hadn't fallen into a state requiring actual restoration. Monmouth's much slighter role is, nevertheless, in some ways a similar one to Gustavus Adolphus, that of the sacrificial hero who dies before the goal is achieved. *The Succession to the Crown* states, then, that though "he Fell at last in the same *laudable Attempt of rescuing this Nation from* Popery *and* Tyranny, which His Present Majesty performed afterwards with such happy Success," his attempt "Ought not to be *less dear* to us than it would have been if it had been Crown'd with the *same Success*". At the same time, having accepted that "God Almighty's inscrutable Providence" did not favour Monmouth, the notion of his "*Sacrifice for our Liberty*" is problematized by the claim that the "Undertaking was no less Glorious" [92].

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[90] *SCE*, pp. 37-8.
[91] *SCE*, pp. 26-7; and see **gallant ... gallantry**, *OED*, Vol. VI, pp. 325-7.
[92] *SCE*, pp. 25-6.

Given that the term was particularly applied to William's endeavour because it was bloodless, its use here inserts further elements of doubt into an already ambivalent text. Whilst Defoe's persona claims to "be *Convinc'd*" of Monmouth's *Legitimacy*", the suggestion that "the Parliament of *England*, in settling the *Succession* may ... have a *Right* to fix it as they *see cause*, and avoid the Lineal Descent of this family or any other", makes such issues irrelevant. Finally, if "the Crown of *England* Naturalizes and Legitimates any Body", its identificatory power also implicates its wearer within the death drive's public discourse of madness and sacrifice [93].

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[93] *SCE*, pp. 32-3.

5. *Short ways and dialogues*

Rev. ... He's the Champion for a Modern Readers Mony, that can cut a Throat with a Feather, that can wound the sacred Order by way of Expostulation, and fling Dirt upon them by Dint of Irony as I have done.

Obs. The only figure in Rhetorick that you are Master of! [1]

If Defoe and Tutchin had public disagreements, critics such as Charles Leslie and the author of *The Republican Bullies* depicted them acting as one against the established sacred order [2]. Having examined how *Legion's Memorial* and *The History of the Kentish Petition* used violent identifications differently, Chapter 5 thus explores how *A Dialogue Between a Dissenter and The Observator* reversed Tutchin's satire on Legion, relating certain of Defoe's asides to his debate with the dissenting minister John Howe over Occasional Conformity, and to some problematic support he received from the sect leader Joseph Jacob, baited in the *Observator* from January, 1703 [3].

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[1] Epigraph: *The Republican Bullies: or, a Sham Battel between two of a side, in a Dialogue between Mr. Review and the Observator* ... (01080.3.f.3. (1.), 4°, pp. 8, 1705), p. 6.

[2] For Leslie's charges, see Kennedy, '*The Jubilee Necklace*: A New Defoe Attribution for 1704?', *The Scriblerian*, XXIX:1 (1996), 1-7.

[3] See Tutchin, *Observator*, No. 75, January 6-9, 1703, and *The Whiskers Whisk'd: or, a Farewell Sermon ... By the Irreverend J— J—, Doctor of Enthusiasm* (1703), adv. in *Observator* from No. 85, February 20-4, 1703.

Chandler noted that an "audacious" person had "fix[ed] a Bill on the House of Commons Door, importing *That this Nation is to be Sold, enquire within*". Delivered to Robert Harley on May 14, 1701, Defoe's *Memorial* wasn't, then, the only anti-Commons response after the Kentish Petitioners' imprisonment. Further, if the later published *History*'s attitude to Parliamentary power was, as Chapter 1 suggested, part of a larger identificatory stance, Chandler's subsequent comment that "others, on their part said, the House of Commons was a Branch of Government; that all Governments were absolute in their Nature and Constitution, and so must the Commons in their respective Share of it", also indicates that Defoe's critical response entered a well defined public debate [4].

This sense of an already divided rhetorical context questions readings which draw only on Legion's literary echoes in the period, amalgamating author and persona as "the spokesman for a troubled nation" [5]. Further, as Chapter 3 noted, Defoe had earlier applied this identification to his standing army opponents. Thus, the Biblical equation of Legion with multiple identifications could also be seen to suggest the instability inherent in possessing certain forms of authority. In addition, the more contestatory paradigm represented by Cleveland's comment, that a "committee-man by his name should be one that is possessed, there is number enough in it to make an epithet for legion", since he "contains both the number and the beast ... a noun of the multitude", suggests how the text works through a model of negation and counterparted opposition by deploying politically divergent definitions of a Parliamentarian against each other [6]. Connecting Defoe's two texts, his Answerer argued that "our Kentish-Dumpling surely takes delight in fighting with himself" [7]. A disputant's key charge, such internal contradiction might also be said to signal both the

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[4] Chandler, *History and Proceedings*, Vol. III, p. 146.

[5] *Boulton*, p. 82, who cites "Dryden's remark (of Sir Fopling Flutter) in the Epilogue to Etherege's *The Man of Mode*: 'Legion's his name, a people in a man' ".

[6] Cleveland, *The Character of a Country Committee-Man*, cited by Achinstein, 'The Politics of Babel', p. 30.

[7] *The History of the Kentish Petition Answer'd Paragraph by Paragraph: Wherein The Anti-Parliamentary Faction are Discover'd; Their Ill Design Detected* ... (T. 1676. (2.), pp. 1-52, 4°, 1701), p. 21. Henceforth *KPAP*.

working of repression and the influence of the death drive's impulses towards fragmentation and incoherence.

Defoe both admitted and denied his responsibility for Legion. When *The History* appeared, its author declared himself "*not afraid to let the World know*" how "*sure*" he was that "*every thing related in this Account is Litterally and Positively true*". Asserting another identity, the Historian is caught between literal truth and denial: "*Nor is my Name* Legion, *I wish it were, for I shou'd ha' been glad to be capable of speaking so much Truth, and so much to the purpose, as is contain'd in that Unanswerable Paper*" [8]. This, it should be said, is the fourth similar denial in as many paragraphs. Having indicated support for the Petitioners, as well as scorn for those from Warwickshire who, it is claimed, had "*brought*" their own Petition "*a Hundred Miles*", yet were "*afraid to deliver it*", only the third denial attacks a specific individual, "Sir Robert Clayton, *by which you may know that I did not promise the Members, who were then in fear enough, to use my Interest to stifle a City Petition*" [9].

Attacking the supposed cowardice of other Petitioners and Members of Parliament, the writer's claimed objectivity thus declares and reiterates its purely conventional status. Having, then, already put such political objectivity into question, at the same instant the writer appears to ask readers, in a related but separate move, to accord such recounted personal experiences the status of fact. Though such strategies are common in themselves, the Legion writer goes to a great effort to emphasize the degree of bias involved. Keeping up the pose of literal certainty, the "*unconcern'd Spectator*," slips into a textualization of history which declares its figurativeness. Thus, the "*exact observer of every passage*," has "*been an Eye and Ear Witness of every most Minute Article, and am sure that every thing related is as exactly True, as*

[8] Defoe, *HKP*, 'The Preface', pp. i-iii.
[9] Defoe, *HKP*, 'The Preface', pp. ii-iii.

the Causes of it all are Scandalous and Burthensome to the Nation" [10]. After the Petitioners' apparent betrayal by one of their county representatives and prior notification within the House, the Historian makes the first satanic point:

> Mr. *William Culpeper* particularly *alluding to the Words of* Luther, *to those who diswaded him from going to the City of* Worms, told them, *That if every Tile upon the Chappel of Saint* * Stephen's *was a Devil, he would present the Petition.* ... Mr. *Meredith* finding the Gentlemen so resolute, did consent to carry in the Petition, which he perform'd with great Discretion and Fidelity. [11]

If Devils thus become reversible figures in the logic of *Legion*, the ambiguity of the following statement takes on further weight:

> The same morning that [the younger] Mr. *Colepeper* surrendred [sic] himself, *The Legion Paper*, as 'twas called, was sent to the House, 'twas said it was delivered the Speaker by a Woman, but I have been inform'd since, that it was a mistake, and that 'twas delivered by the very Person who wrote it, guarded with about Sixteen Gentlemen of Quality, who if any notice had been taken of him, were ready to have carried him off by Force ; 'twas reported, that Mr. *Thomas Colepeper* brought it out of *Kent*, and that all the County were at his Heels to make it good, tho' it was really no such thing, and that Gentleman declar'd he knew nothing at all of it. [12]

The above report performs a restatement within what at first seems like a denial. On second glance, however, Defoe's negation puts a woman's figure in play when there was no apparent need, affirming her identity's relevance within the rhetorical field. Woman's alliance with a devilish party challenges the *History*'s status as it links, in Jonathan Dollimore's words, "the religious heretic and the wayward woman (Satan and Eve

[10] Defoe, *HKP*, 'The Preface', pp. i-iv.
[11] Defoe, *HKP*, pp. 6-7.
[12] Defoe, *HKP*, p. 14.

respectively)" [13]. Given Defoe's earlier noted attitude to women in general, and to his wife in particular, the negation may be thought to combine the roles of master and servant in a thus stronger identification. Yet, his manipulation of a woman's presence and absence at this strategic moment is also what Freud found symbolized in the child's *fort / da* game.

The double terms of confusion are further mapped out by figures in later asides, such as "'tis so natural to Curse with one Hand, when we Bless with the other", and this confusion of tongues continues into the sensory language of reportage itself, when the freed Petitioners are greeted "with such Universal Acclamations of the People, as the like was never seen in that Country since the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second" [14]. If this political parallel seems misplaced, Defoe's astute critic hinted at a link between Christ's destruction of many demons and the mismatched rhetorical terminology: "what do I talk of the *Three Weeks* Historian's wanting Manners, when 'tis apparent he has lost the use of his *Sences*, for in my Country, People used to *hear* Acclamations, but our Author *sees* them, *viz.* *Such Acclamations were never seen before in that Country*, &c. but before this time I never heard of any thing but *Hogs* that on Shoar could see the Wind" [15]. Yet the dead Stuart later plays an important role: "The Act of the I*3 Carol. 2.* to assert the Right of the Subjects Petitioning, is a sufficient Authority for any one to quote, and those that pretend to call this an Illegal Act, must first trample down the Authority of that Act of Parliament."

> ... But because this Right unlimited, might be tumultuous and uneasie, therefore the Method how he shall do it, is circumscrib'd for Decency-sake, that it shall be done by Petition, and that Petition shall be presented *so* and *so*, and by such a Number, and no more: but that it should not be lawful to

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[13] Jonathan Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 27.

[14] Defoe, *HKP*, p. 17.

[15] *KPAP*, p. 32; see *Mark*, V. 9-13. **Acclamation**, "**†3.** *Rhet.* A Brief isolated sentence in a discourse, emphasizing what precedes it. *Obs.* **1657.** J. SMITH *Myst. Rhet. Unv.* 143 Acclamation is a figure, when after a thing is done or declared, a clause or part of a sentence is added, briefly purporting some Emphasis." *OED*, Vol. I. p. 77.

> Petition, no Tribunal, no Court, no Collective or Representative Body of men in the World ever refused it; nay, the *Inquisition* of *Spain* does not forbid it, the *Divan* of the *Turks* allows it, and I believe if *Sathan* himself kept his Court in publick, he would not prohibit it. [16]

If they note the entire gesture's boldness, even its arrogance, 'libertarian' interpretations usually give *Legion*'s foundational contradictions less space. The Address wasn't produced in isolation but was, seemingly, part of the Kentish Petitioners' strategy.

Intertextual issues arise again with the recognition that *England's Corruptions and Mismanagements Discover'd. In a Dialogue Between Trueman and Legion*, provided a previously unappreciated template for Defoe's own *Dialogue*. One of a few tracts to reflect on the *Memorial*, it was first advertised in *Observator*, 68, December 12-16, 1702, and Tutchin's authorship would make sense. Few other Defoe texts in this period exhibit such a clearly interleaved approach, and reading the *Dialogue* through it gives his identification depth and meaning as part of a territorial dispute with Tutchin. *England's Corruptions and Mismanagements* presents the following exchange:

> *Leg.* Pray, What do you say to the *Kentish* Petition?
> *True.* The Petition was a Monster, and the Petitioners were Saucy to Impose upon the House, as they did.
> *Leg.* Why is it not the undoubted Right of the People of *England* to Petition the King or Parliament ?
> *True.* Yes, It is, and they allow it; the Parliament, nor no-Body else found Fault with the Petitioning part ; but with the Commanding

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[16] Defoe, *HKP*, pp. 20-1. This point is taken up in an attack on the Historian's rhetorical tactics, *KPAP*: "I know no Adversary he has about the Right of Petitioning ; for it is enacted as a standing Law, that *the Subject has the Right of Petitioning* ; *but not of Affronting and Reproaching, which is the Case of the Kentish Petitioners* ; and therefore his Raking into Heaven and Hell, and bringing in *God* and the *Devil*, the Spanish *Inquisition* and the Turkish *Divan*, to prove a Right that was never deny'd him, is like labouring at the Oar when the Gally rides at Anchor", p. 43.

> part, which was very Saucy in them to Command the House to turn their Loyal Addresses into Bills of Supplies. [17]

Considering *Memorial* and *History* as a double-headed monster of sorts suggests the tension between a group and its self-appointed spokesman, what C. B. Macpherson calls the "individual seen neither as moral whole, nor as part of a larger social whole, but as an owner of himself". Equally, if "freedom is a function of possession", the links that exist between these two texts and *The Shortest Way*—which picks another extremist position, but deconstructs its lack of self-possession in other ways—point to forms of irony that blur the boundaries between text and intertext [18].

Later that year, another "True Englishman" declared that Defoe's "Wretched *Libel*" must have come from a "Party ... either in League with Hell, or *France*, or Both". Continuing in similarly bombastic vein, the anonymous writer used a common self-cancelling scare tactic: "Next they threaten the Parliament with Force; but wide Mouths have seldom stout Hearts, their Talent lies in Railing not in Fighting, they may do hurt by their Tongues, never by their Hands" [19]. As will be seen, *England's Corruptions and Mismanagements* mocked manly action, in a passage of ignoble swordplay that Defoe felt compelled to revise, just as it too introduced the issue of national identifications.

Before going on, however, I want also to note its explorative emphasis of Legion's Biblical associations. Hearing that, "My Name is *Legion*, and we are many, my Country is Universal,

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[17] *England's Corruptions and Mismanagements Discover'd. In a Dialogue Between Trueman and Legion. ...* (517.k.16. (23.), 4°, pp. 3-31, 1702), pp. 25-6. Henceforth *ECMD*.

[18] C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 3.

[19] *England's Enemies Exposed, And its True Friends and Patriots Defended ... Being a Plain and Particular Confutation of a Wretched Libel call'd the Legion. By a True Englishman* (T. 1788 (10), pp. 52, 4°, 1701), p. 49.

even all the World over, and I am an Incendiary that ranges to and fro, seeking whom I may devour", Trueman retorts:

> *True.* O Sir, is it you? I have often read and heard of you before ; I suppose you are he that possessed the Man, who had his Dwelling among the Tombs, in the Countrey of the *Gadarenes,* whose Name being demanded, he answered, *My Name is* Legion, *for we are many.*
> *Leg.* Yes, Sir, I am the very same Person.
> *True.* I thought you had been Drowned with the Herd of Swine, that ran Headlong with you into the Sea; but seeing I am mistaken, pray tell me what Wind brought you hither, and what made you infest our Coast? I am sure no Body desired your Company here.
> Leg. That's your mistake, ... [20]

Defoe disowned the *Dialogue* after the *Collection* assembled by Tutchin's printer identified his hand. Its inclusion in that pirated edition can be read as a calculated move which, by easy comparison, laid bare the duplicity behind repeated claims to be an innocent and injured party as, for example when, in *A Letter to Mr. How,* Defoe writes "If I am wrong here, I shall acknowledge my Error when I am better inform'd". Championing the aged minister, Tutchin had called him "a Worthy Gentleman, whose great Learning and Accomplishments have deservedly gained him the Applause of all the Learned of this Age" [21]. But, when the *Dialogue*'s dissenting figure asks by what right Defoe had written against Occasional Conformity, the false *Observator* answers evasively, "Nay, What had Mr. *How* to do to meddle with it afterward,"

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[20] *ECMD*, pp. 3-4.
[21] Defoe, *A Letter to Mr. How* ... repr. in the earlier pirated *A Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True-Born Englishman* (G. 13273, pp. 289, 8°, 1703), pp. 264-89, (p. 273); first adv. in *Observator*, Vol II. 4, April 17, 1703. Henceforth *CW*. Tutchin, *Observator*, Vol. II, 4, April 17, 1703.

> I'll assure you his Name is down in my Pocket Book, and when any Man in England defends a cause worse, I'll put his Name out and put t'others name in: [22]

Even an uninformed reader, seeing only a minister attacked, may still feel that the question of Defoe's own legitimacy hasn't been properly proved. Yet, just as his advantages arise from potential detriment caused to others' names, his own acknowledged, and 'polite', opposition to Howe becomes more decorous by comparison. Tutchin's regular readership would, however, have found the above derision remarkably inconsistent, indicating how the *Dialogue*'s game with possible audience responses, informed as it was by a careful reading of *England's Corruptions*, would probably have resulted in the sort of opposed reactions visible in contemporary critical views [23]. Defoe's approach wasn't simple, then, since forcing the false Observator to occupy an uncomfortable position more than once would make readers, even those who knew Tutchin's opinions less well, sufficiently sceptical to avoid literal reading. Further, Defoe's sensitivity to the pirated edition's misprints, and the variations between the *Dialogue*'s first edition and its reprint in that *Collection*, suggest mutual scrutiny. For words removed or added without damaging the grammatical structure there introduce new senses that seem to parody his tactics. Thus, the Dissenter is asked:

> *Obs.* Pray why are you Dissenters Angry at the Book call'd *The Shortest Way*; 'Tis a little Mysterious, Sir, that [tho'] the *Church Men* are Affronted because 'twas Written against them, and the *Dissenters* are Affronted because 'tis Wrote against them too, I don't well understand it, one sort must be Fools, that's certain. [24]

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[22] Defoe, *A Dialogue Between a Dissenter and the Observator* (4135.aaa. 49, pp. 30, 4°, 1703), p. 5, repr. in *CW*, pp. 219-42. Henceforth *DDO*.

[23] Thus Moore, *Checklist*, p. 27, saw Tutchin "the principal object of attack", conjecturing, "presumably ... it was too personal a defence to be acknowledged"; Furbank (MS note on my photocopy of *DDO*), writes that "the pseudo-Observator defends Defoe", his main target being the "stupid Dissenter"; see also Bastian, *Early Life*, p. 283.

[24] Defoe, *DDO*, p. 4, but text as on pp. 220-21 in *CW*.

If Defoe's pawn had limited insight, the *Collection* inserted a "tho'", which altered the message considerably, further debasing the fake *Observator*. Thus, as "One sort must be fools" becomes self-criticism, it also develops a competing irony. Further, Trueman's claim near the end of *England's Corruptions*, that "our Laws are Invalid, for want of a Parliament to protect and relieve the Prosecutors, and punish those that violate and dispence with their Laws", is interrupted briefly by a minor figure called "Ignoramus", who swears that this "'twas a Lye, for"

> said he, I have seen Advertisements in the *Gazett* promising Rewards and Encouragement to those that will discover any Frauds or Abuses committed in the Government. [25]

Trueman convinces him that public spirits can't expect deeds from such promises. Indeed, avoiding any investigation, those in power will probably seek vengeance. To this Ignoramus replies, "I must confess I took the words in the Litteral Sense, and thought it had been as true as the Gospel; but since I understand otherwise, I'll knock under: Indeed I don't know but you have saved me from Swinging, for I was going to discover a Damn'd Design". Echoing this episode benefits Defoe. Tacitly alluding to *England's Corruptions*, the dissenting spokesman, now persuaded that railing at one of his own was an error, says of high-flyers:

> *Dis.* Why I think they ought to be us'd as they us'd the Author of the *Shortest Way*, Gazetted and a Reward for the Discoverer.

Fearful Dissenters are, nevertheless, criticized for not trusting the "QUEEN's Veracity", just as they "continued of the same mind like an *Ignoramus*, tho' you heard 'twas wrote by one of your own Party" [26].

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[25] *ECMD*, p. 28.

England's Corruptions mocks the *Legion* persona in various ways. Replicating the *Observator*'s expository role, and for only the cost of a morning's drinking, the impoverished devil readily divulges some brewing trade tricks along with a number of naval frauds, both obsessional topics with Tutchin [27]. Less garrulous, Trueman commands the moral heights and controls the situation economically. Whereas *England's Enemies* attacked a group, reading like a morality play's comic interlude, this identification can incorporate both seemingly exact reference and vague accusation. To the extent that it touches him, rather than castigating Defoe harshly, the satire twists images a reader might then have had, and accusations of continental connections are knowingly theatrical. Painting *Legion* as anything but a Dutch-nosed, clean shaven man of middle stature, sends up both sides:

> AS *Trueman* was taking a View of the Heads upon *London-Bridge*, he was accosted by a Tall Man, of a Swarthy Complection, much resembling a *Spaniard*; his Apparel was black, and shap'd *Alamode-de-France*, his Eyes big and quick, his Teeth large and Sharp, ... with a wide Mouth and a loud Voice ...[28]

In contrast, the *Dialogue* addresses the politics of appearance by interchanging "hooked nose" and "Dutch Nose". Whilst this reaffirms Defoe's public image, as given in the *London Gazette* before his arrest, its repetition both cancels out an unwanted foreign association, and underlines his true Protestant allegiance [29]. The racial politics are, then, strengthened by their government source, this strategy providing an example of how Defoe is often able to

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[26] *ECMD*, p. 29; Defoe, *DDO*, pp. 20-1.

[27] See Tutchin, *Remarks on the Present Condition of the Navy, and particularly of the Victualling* (8805.b.33. (1.)., pp. iv, 23, 4°, 1700), and *Remarks upon the Navy. The second part. Containing a reply to the Observations* (8805.b.33. (2.)., pp. 30, 4°, 1700).

[28] *ECMD*, p. 3.

[29] Defoe, *DDO*, p. 3; Sutherland, *Defoe*, p. 89, cited the proclammation for Defoe's arrest in *London Gazette* for Jan. 10. 1703, which mentioned "a hooked nose" and "sharp chin".

replicate the authority of such material in his own rhetoric. The copying and repetition reverses the information's status but leaves its surface untouched. Desiring to realign loyalties, it may also deploy a hunting metaphor that Tutchin had used earlier to describe conditions in Spain [30].

Legion lists national traumas which have involved him. Like "the Powder Plot", they notably failed to achieve their ends, and those who were implicated were punished. Once the devil has confessed all he knows, Trueman declares that he, in contrast, has been "chosen Arbitrator for some Men in Cases of Controversie, and I have chosen others on the same Account, but I have never accounted my self a Servant to them that chose me, but rather a Servant to them I had chosen" [31]. The *Dialogue* negates the value placed on such proud modesty, stemming from an idealized practice of independent choice. In a foundational Defoean irony, Tutchin's best known persona is forced to be the servant of two masters: that is, he serves both another author and his own falsified image. Trapped inside a different textual jurisdiction, the *Observator* must labour to reconstruct a picture of Defoe in the face of intolerance.

Whereas *England's Corruptions* has a literal devilish presence, the later *Dialogue* reduces him to a figure of speech meaning less to readers unfamiliar with the pre-text. As already suggested, this central debate, between literal and figurative truth, connects both works. Another related echo on the later tract's opening page, can be heard in the Dissenter's requesting "a little Civil Discourse". The immediate reply—"If it be Civil, as you say, you

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[30] See Tutchin, *Observator*, 47, September 30-October 3. Of the Spaniards, enflamed by their clergy to commit atrocities, the country-man states: "Then the Popish Priests are the huntsmen and their People are the Hounds, they must run at any game, it seems, if the Priests set them on. But those People are not like my Greyhound, he knows what is game and what is not, he will not leave the hare to worry the Sheep, but these Spaniards cannot distinguish betwixt such as are their Enemies and such as are their Friends: poor Wretches!"

[31] *ECMD*, p. 27.

are Welcome, but you begin but odly"— repeats the word 'civil' almost like a refrain, to emphasize it [32]. In *England's Corruptions*, the conversation had run as follows:

> *True.* [...] I would be glad to know from whence all our Misfortunes do arise; but I hope you'll be Civil?
>
> *Leg.* I will be very Civil, upon my Honour!
>
> *True.* Prithee, Why do'st thou talk of Honour what Honour can be expected in you that are Guilty of so great and so many Villainies; for my part, I account him most Honourable who is most Honest, but will you be Civil indeed ?
>
> *Leg.* Yes, by *Beelzebub*, I will.
>
> *True.* A Pox of *Beelzebub.* What have I to do with him? Will you really be Civil?

In a marginal note beside this passage Trueman states that he was anxious of "venturing my self with him, on Polluted Ground; for during our last Discourse I was upon Holy Ground, and knew he durst not Assault me there" [33]. As Ignoramus reborn and the butt of defensive satire, the Dissenter is possessed by violence. The danger to the author from such men, Defoe suggested, necessitated his absence. There can, however, be no safe ground in a work which, hoping to placate the authorities, sidelines their oppositional centrality and foregrounds a satiric sub-plot that links the two texts more closely with other referential ironies.

"Your answer", the false *Observator* tells the Dissenter early on, "like Parson *Jacobs* Text, ought to be taken a pieces and Explain'd" [34]. An awareness of Tutchin's record of vituperation against Jacob indicates the kind of insult that Defoe was delivering indirectly. Further, in what seems a deliberate manoeuvre, Matthew Mead, seventh in a list of other

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[32] Defoe, *DDO*, p. 3.
[33] *ECMD*, p. 7.
[34] Defoe, *DDO*, p. 4.

dissenting worthies, is further individualized by an allusion to his sermon that is discussed later. Walter Wilson relates that "before he took leave" of Thomas Gouge's Meeting House, from which he had been barred after an M. P.'s complaints, "reflecting particularly upon King William", Jacob also

> fell foul upon several very worthy ministers, and amongst others, upon the valuable Mr. Matthew Mead. At the same time, he produced in the pulpit, one of Mr. Mead's books, out of which he read what he thought proper, and then ridiculed it and lampooned it as served his pleasure. [35]

If, then, the *Dialogue* contains both attacker and target, Defoe never responded directly to Jacob. To examine his restrained stance it will be necessary to glance at the Parson's 12 September, 1702 sermon, *The Works of God declar'd*, delivered on *the day of Thanksgiving for the Success of the Queen's Forces*, that commented slightingly on the dead king, for which Tutchin and Goldham took him to task. For, attacking Howe and Tutchin, Jacob portrayed Defoe himself as something of an heroic archetype. With a couple of obvious puns, his preface to the second edition described "HOW a tall *Anakim* hath most invidiously revil'd a little FOE of his, who had, by much, the better of him; and not content therewith,"

> HOW insolently doth he treat *all* who hate the *Tricking* and *Trimming*, the *Doubling* and *Cringing in Religion, of which he hath been so long a Practitioner*, that now he thinks himself fit to appear a doughty *Champion* for such Occasional Conformity; [36]

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[35] See *DDO*, p. 14, for the list. Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, ...* 4 vols (Printed for the author, 1808-1814), Vol. 1, (pp. 140-41). Mead and Howe were friends. They addressed a united congregation together and How preached his funeral sermon in 1699.

[36] Joseph Jacob, *The Works of God Declar'd, in a Sermon Preach'd at Turners-Hall, the 12th of the 9th Month, 1702 ...* (4476.cc.121, 2nd edn. with postscript, 1702), p. ii. The Anakim were a race of giants, see Numbers 14, xxxiii. Caleb, however, was not so intimidated, see Joshua 15, xiv. For the attack on Tutchin, see p. 39.

Flattering Defoe, Jacob belittled Tutchin who hadn't escaped from Monmouth's Rebellion unscathed. Yet he was himself attacked by Nathaniel Goldham for minimizing Providence's role in securing the Protestant succession, an attitude very much at odds with the Mead's providential reading [37]. The allusion to Jacob put into the false *Observator*'s mouth seems, then, a deliberate strategy to foreground the contradictory positions taken up in the text. Though the False Observator, suppressing the sexual implications of wiping the mouth as deployed in the Occasional Conformity debate, exclaims "at one of your Brethren", who will "take the *Sacrament* to day, sitting, and to Morrow, to get a good place, go to *Church*, and take it kneeling, wipe his Mouth and go home to Dinner, and so to the *Meeting* again", Jacob had called How and other like minded ministers "mad Prophets that thus prate teaching their People to commit Fornication, and when they have so done with the Whore to wipe their Mouths and to say they've done no Evil" [38]. Implication, then, flings the dirt and Defoe's hand remains clean.

Combining narratives of cultural and economic capital, and of violence, Defoe inserted authorized slices of biography into his *Dialogue*. Linked by the theme of honour, these illustrations empower his central, but absent, figure. A scepticism about their actual truth strengthens their rhetorical value, the tolerated contradictions suggesting how these tales are more than just rewritten episodes involving the *Legion* figure of *England's Corruptions*. The repayment narrative below isn't, then, just a straightforward cancellation. When the false *Observator* states "If you had said he had broke and won't pay his Debts, you had said more to the purpose", the boundaries between the public and the private weaken. Defoe's earlier physical identification with William, who had died in debt to the state, allows him to go

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[37] See Nathaniel Goldham, *A Letter to Mr. Jacob proving Seven Abominations* ... (1855.c.4. (13.), pp. 4, fol., 1702), p. 3, who made opportunism, political and otherwise, one of his seven "*Abominations*", and marked Jacob's "spleen" against William.

[38] Compare, for example, treatment of Occasional Conformity in *DDO*, p. 5, with a less restrained version of the same image in Jacob, *The Works of God*, p. 15.

beyond the letter. The theme of restitution comes after the Dissenter's persecuting spirit drives the false *Observator* "to be an Advocate for One he has no kindness for. But I must do one piece of Justice to the man,"

> though I love him no better than you do, that is this: That meeting a gentleman in a *Coffee-House*, where I and every body else was railing at him, the Gentle-man took us up with this short Speech.
> Gentlemen, said he, I know this D *Foe* as well as any of you, and I was one of his Creditors, and I compounded with him, and discharg'd him fully; and several years afterward he sent for me, and tho' he was clearly discharg'd, he paid me all the Remainder of his Debt voluntarily, and of his own accord : and he told me, that as fast as God should enable him he intended to do so with every body; when he had done, he desir'd me to set my hand to a Paper to acknowledge it, which I readily did, and found a great many Names to the Paper, before me, and I think myself bound to own it, tho' I am no Friend to the Book he has wrote, no more than you. What do you think of this story?
> *Dis.* Think of it, I don't believe it! [39]

This 'biographical' digression makes sense thematically, yet the comedy of the Dissenter's doubting Thomas role undercuts the private scene which creates a line of narrators to bear witness before God. To some extent, Defoe draws on the real *Observator*'s ignorant companion for this characterization, yet the *Country-man*'s willingness to learn isn't shared by the sceptic above [40].

If the *Dialogue* touches on issues such as reputation and royal friendship, the Coffee-house incident's focus on personal honour and dependability replaces the wider ideological, and possibly more damaging assertions made against *Legion*. The Dissenter's reaction and vow

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[39] Defoe, *DDO*, pp. 7-8.
[40] See *Observator*, Dec. 16, 1702, Vol. I. No. 69, where the *Country-man* pleads ignorance of Occasional Conformity.

to continue railing prompts a parallel with the Pharisees, who were reluctant to agree that John the Baptist's actions were divinely sanctioned. With the question of authority at stake, it's worth noting that, though the false *Observator* doesn't supply the context, Christ's query wittily silenced his critics "as he taught the people in the temple, and preached the gospel".

> 6 But and if we say, Of men; all the people will stone us: for
> they be persuaded that John was a prophet.
> 7 And they answered, that they could not tell whence it *was*.
> [41]

Branded with being evasive, the Dissenters, who are told that "the People would laugh" were they to claim that *The Shortest Way* was written against them, have comparatively less at stake [42]. Given, however, that wherever John's authority to baptize came from, he'd already been executed, violence filters through this comic mode. Defoe's image of public amusement at vengeful Dissenters implies, then, both their distorted perspective and the existence of some popular sympathy for him. Contrasting the civil authorities' aim of apprehension and punishment with an exaggerated image of vigilante zeal gives a less confrontational status to Defoe's initial escape, at the same time it hints at his compliance with the right authorities. Thus, neither he, nor those in power, are present directly in this dialogue.

In contrast to the unaccepted repayment story, constructed as a witnessed speech, details of Defoe's self-defence are teased out tentatively. Another communication process blurs the speaker / receiver opposition, when mutual valorization of public report replaces an

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[41] *Luke*, 20. v. 1-8; this gospel is also the only one to record the version of Christ's promise to the thieves that adds ironic depth to *The Shortest Way*.
[42] Defoe, *DDO*, p. 8.

untrusted hierarchy of tale / teller / listener. Bringing the speakers closer, the false *Observator*'s assertion about the attacker's identity goes deeper:

> Dis. Well, *I hope they'll take him still,* I should be glad to see him hang'd for it, I am sure he deserves it; I heard one met him a little while ago, woul'd I had been there.
>
> Obs. Alone, do you mean Sir, or to have helpt the other ?
>
> Dis. Any how, so I could but have taken him.
>
> [Obs. 'Twas in *Hackney Fields,* was it not ?]
>
> [Dis. Yes, I think so.]
>
> Obs. Ay, and they say 'twas one of your own Party too, and one that would fain have got the 50 l. but that he drew upon him, frighted him out of his wits, and made him down of his knees and swear that if ever he met him again, he should shut his eyes till he was half a mile off him.
>
> Dis. I don't think he's such a fighting fellow.
>
> Obs. Do you know him ?
>
> Dis. No not I.
>
> Obs. So I thought by your Charity and good nature; I know him not neither ... [43].

Repeating Hamlet's words when told that his father's ghost has been sighted, the Dissenter's 'wou'd I had been there' ironically identifies him with the prevaricating revenger. Further, Horatio's "It would have much amazed you", is also implied by the false *Observator* in another register. Having identified himself, as he had elsewhere identified William, with John the Baptist, Defoe thus continued crossing referential boundaries [44].

Since Hamlet's subsequent vow, that "If it assume my noble father's person / I'll speak to it though hell itself should gape", refers to "the possibility that the ghost may, in accordance

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[43] Defoe, *DDO*, pp. 8-9; *CW*, p. 225, repr. cut the two above [lines]. Given that the text also contains at least ten variations in spelling, setting, and punctuation, this detail seems intentional rather than careless.

[44] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. by G. R. Hibbard, The Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), see 1. ii. l. 237; and cf. Defoe, *DDO* in *CW*, pp. 212-3.

with the Protestant thinking of the time, be a devil", playing off the link between devil and ghost against these religious identifications can be read as a further reply to the way *England's Corruptions and Mismanagements* had portrayed him [45]. For, whilst the New Testament image of a man living amongst tombs provides a link with death, a devil may stand behind the dead father's ghost. Another comparison is also set up when Peter's denial, "I know him not", is spoken by the false *Observator*. Thus Defoe, despite brotherly betrayal, may gain respect by showing more defensive control than had the disciple at Christ's arrest [46].

Part of a crusade against partial justice, Legion's self-ridiculing tale of swordplay in *England's Corruptions and Mismanagements* has few actual similarities with Defoe's well rehearsed tale:

> A while ago, I was walking thro' the shambles with my Dog *Pretty* at my Heels, and out comes a Butchers great dog open Mouth at *Pretty*, I seeing that, I drew and killed the Dog, whereupon a whole Army of Butchers and Constables surrounded me, demanding Satisfaction, but I being stiff, they drag'd me to a neighbouring justice that the Dog Butcher served with Meat, he and they opened their Cause before the Justice, who would not suffer me speak before he ordered Mittimus to [be] made, and then demanding my Name, I told his Worship, it was *Rhomantadocia*, what said he *Don Pedro* ? Yes Sir said I; dear Sir said he I am your most humble Servant [47].

If a braggart typically operates in the first person, the false *Observator*'s dramatic retelling of the Hackney Fields incident declares its fictional status as it revises this fantastic double

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[45] *Hamlet*, ed. Hibbard, 1. ii. ll. 246-7; editorial comment on p. 169.
[46] For Peter's denial, see *Luke*, 22. v. 57.
[47] *ECM*, p. 29; "*Rhomantadocia*", an hidalgo out of popular theatre, seems to pinpoint a very contradictory person, even parties at war with themselves. The name echoes Rodomont, a saracen leader in Boiardo and Ariosto who whilst a braggart was, unlike Legion, brave. The exaggeration of "a whole army" precedes the more ambiguous "stiffness", shown to those "demanding Satisfaction", hinting at the passage's possible sexual themes. See **pretty**, *OED*, Vol. XII, pp. 439-40.

scene of anti-social behaviour and justice's derailment, allowing Defoe to face an unfit would-be captor rather than the proper authorities. There and elsewhere the *Dialogue* encourages ironic self-criticism, which "negates on the figurative level what is positively affirmed on the literal level" and shows a "prior awareness of ... a negative mark on discourse", displacing Legion's cowardice and other shortcomings onto the Dissenter, whose promise to shut his eyes for a certain period combines symbolic blinding with other ideological inflections [48].

Whilst the price of possession is 50 l. there, the Coffee House repayment story describes how far an indebted man must go to regain full self-possession. Further, in the simile which follows his exhibition of rhetorical swordsmanship, and which furthers the mercenary theme, asking "why can't" Dissenters "set down one good thing and one bad, and ballance with him: You understand Accompts well enough", the false *Observator* identified them with "a Shop-keeper I knew, who having traded 20 Year with a Gentleman, and serv'd all his family", had "gotten a great deal of money by him". Again introduced as a personal contact, though tellingly the speaker knows only the richer party, this incident is placed between a list of Defoe's own past cultural wealth headed by "the New Test of Church of *England* Loyalty", a tract which Tutchin had praised back in July, 1702. The accuracy of Defoe's analogy is then indicated by the Dissenter's response:

> at last the poor Gentleman fell to decay, and owing him 40 s. the Shop-keeper abus'd him, and call'd him all the Knaves and Rogues for cheating him of 40 s.
>
> Diss. No, no, this has spoylt all. [49]

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[48] Marion Shapiro, 'The Status of Irony', *SLR*, 2:1 (1985), 5-26, (p. 9).

[49] Defoe, *DDO*, pp. 9-10, repr. in *CW*, pp. 225-26; for Tutchin's praise, see *Observator*, Vol. I, No. 25.

I want to turn now to the wheels within wheels allusion mentioned in Chapter 1, which can be read as a deliberate allusion in a new regime to the political agenda that helped William's rise to power. For it may also be a Defoean metaphor for the workings of his own literary providence and, further, an admission of propaganda's delusional economy:

> As to the Quarrel you Dissenters have at the Book *that's a mystery no man can unriddle but your selves.* 'Tis like Mr. *Mead's* Wheel within a Wheel, and a further Testimony to the World that you are a most unaccountable People whose ways are past finding out.

This Defoe text, with others of the period, thus shows the influence of *The Vision of The Wheels*, preached by Mead on 31 January, 1689, and dedicated "To the Right Worshipful Sir *Humphrey Edwin* Knight, Sherriff of the City of London" [50]. The full sarcasm in Defoe's "past finding out" can be heard when it's recalled that such a phrase, which Mead himself quoted from Job, describes only God's ways. Hackney fields aside, eyes are mentioned a number of times in the *Dialogue*, which calls any refusal to understand *The Shortest Way* a shutting of eyes "against the Light". Further, the visual metaphor links in with Mead's statement that "All things are directed by an infinite wisdom, *the wheels are full of Eyes round about*" [51]. Mead's central theme can be found in other works such as Defoe's *Brief Explanation*, which acquainted "those Gentlemen who fancy the time is come to bring" *The Shortest Way* "to pass, that they are mistaken,"

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[50] Matthew Mead, 'The Epistle Dedicatory', *The Vision of the Wheels Seen by the Prophet Ezekiel ... January 31 1688/9, being the Day of Solemn Thanksgiving to God for the Great Deliverance of this Kingdom from POPERY and SLAVERY By His then Highness the Most Illustrious Prince of Orange* ... (1218.b.30., pp. i-vi. 1-112, 4°, 1689), p. i; Defoe, *DDO*, p. 25.

[51] Defoe, *DDO*, p. 24; Mead, *Vision of the Wheels*, p. 29, who quotes *Job*. 9. 10. on p. 37; and, for Providence's contrary ways, see p. 36.

> for that when the thing they mean, is put into plain *English*, the whole Nation replies with the *Assyrian* Captain, *Is thy Servant a Dog, that he shou'd do these things* ? [52]

If this phrase, freed of its context, became a common enough reply when asked to do something derogatory, Defoe here chose to allude to the biblical narrative, where Hazael went on to murder his king. The situational irony is underlined when the false *Observator* declares that, "As for your fears of a real design, to put the Shortest Way in practice upon you, no Question there are abundance of People in the World, who would be glad there was not one of you left; I believe no Body doubts it" [53]. In a parallel narrative, which ended with the agent's own demise, Mead told of a planned murder that was providentially averted:

> *Haman* lays a Plot against the Jews, to cut off all the people of God in one day; and the King himself was in the plot too; ... The Wheel seems to run very smoothly; but mark the next words, it was turned to the contrary; and in the day that the Enemy thought to have power over the Jews, that the Jews had power over them that hated them. [54]

Esther's instrumental intercession returns the death planned for Mordecai, the loyal Jew, upon the plotter. The new Queen of England was, however, of a different sort, and "William's death unleashed an intimidating amount of anti-Dissenting feeling", to which Defoe would soon add [55].

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[52] Defoe, *A Brief Explanation of a Late Pamphlet, Entituled The Shortest way with the Dissenters* (1703), p. 3.
[53] Defoe, *DDO*, p. 4.
[54] Mead, *Vision*, p. 36; see II Kings 8, xii-xiii; and for Haman, *Esther*, vii. 9.
[55] *Life*, p. 90; and see *The Safest-Way with the Dissenters* ... (4136.aaa.32, 4°, pp. 8, 1703), p. 7, for the comment that "there was not one Dissenter in any Considerable Post in [Charles II's] Reign but ... was blemish'd, except Mordecai Abbot".

the reverse of the law

> "At the beginning" of the law there is a certain outlaw, a certain reality of violence which coincides with the act itself of the establishment of the law. All of politico-philosophical classical thought rests on the denial of the reverse of the law. [56]

If Zizek's Lacanian reading places the death drive's violence at the origins of the law, on December 1, 1702, one day before the Occasional Conformity Bill went to the Lords, an anonymous tract foregrounded persecutory violence. Deploying 'primitive originals'—Aesop and the Bible—as political allegory, *The Shortest Way With the Dissenters: or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church* situated a paradox in two symbolic thieves. Defoe exaggerated Henry Sacheverell's *Political Union* sermon, subtitled *A Discourse Shewing the Dependence of Government on Religion*, which also closed with an image of the crucifixion echoing earlier High Church rhetoric. Thus, in 1685, Edmund Bohun had made thieves of the Catholics and Dissenters, the Established Church's "implacable self-condemned Enemies" [57]. Yet, as will be seen, by 1702 this analogy also had wider connotations.

The figure of irony, that Defoe cast into the hue and cry as explanation and defence, has been much disputed after Ian Watt's claim that his "vicarious identification with the supposed speaker was so complete that it obscured his original intention" [58]. If authorial intention seems, in this case, an unresolvable issue, Michael Boardman notes that "[i]nconsistency is not alone enough to signal irony", since polemicists may "fail to see or

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[56] Zizek, 'The Limits of the Semiotic Approach to Psychoanalysis' in *Psychoanalysis and* ... ed. by Richard Feldstein and Henry Sussman (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 89-110, (p. 95).

[57] Edmund Bohun cited by Marion Lerenbaum, '"An Irony Not Unusual": Defoe's *Shortest Way with the Dissenters*', *HLQ*, 37:3 (1974), 227-50, (p. 240); and see Novak 'Defoe's *Shortest Way with the Dissenters*: Hoax, Parody, Paradox, Fiction, Irony, and Satire', *MLQ*, 27 (1966), 402-17.

[58] Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957, repr. 1972), p. 142. For a contrasting opinion, see Lee Horsley, 'Contemporary Reactions to Defoe's *Shortest Way With the Dissenters*', *SEL*, 16 (1976), 407-20, (p. 411).

choose to ignore the consequences of their proposals". Thus, arguing against irony, he asserts that the High Church speaker is "never undercut" by contradiction, and that his is "an illogic born of sectarian fanaticism" [59]. Yet, *The Shortest Way* contains contradictions that suggest the deathly persona's fragmentation process. In addition, whilst the apologetic, even masochistic, scapegoat role that Defoe briefly adopted extended the text's rhetoric of victimization, his later aggressively "inconsistent" explanations also point to the death drive's sadistic operation [60].

"Let us Scorn to Trim, Waver, and Double with the Opinions and Interests of *These Halters betwixt God and Baal*', cried Sacheverell [61]. Before *The Shortest Way* attacked him, Defoe's own opposition to Occasional Conformity had, for other reasons, already revived the same inflammatory formula. Whilst, however, the *Political Union* depicted the violence latent in any binding process, Republican anticlericalism, which sought to fuse the state and religion in the "classical idea of *religio* or civil religion", had little against the practice [62]. Defoe's intertextual tactics may thus also have been a response to John Dennis's earlier attack on the High Churchman in *The Danger of Priestcraft to Religion and Government*:

> As some among us would sell us for Money, so others would barter us for Dominion, and a third sort, who are the Tools of the former, would betray us out of Conscience. But the Artifices of no sort of Men are so dangerous, as of those who pretend them sacred, and would make them pass upon the Minds of Men for Religion. [63]

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[59] Michael M. Boardman, 'Defoe's Political Rhetoric and the Problem of Irony', *Tulane St*, 22 (1977), 87-102, (pp. 98-9).

[60] See Downie, 'Defoe's *Shortest Way*', p. 125.

[61] Dr. Henry Sacheverell, Fellow of Magdalen College Oxford, *The Political Union. A Discourse Shewing the Dependence of Government on Religion In General: And of The English Monarchy on The Church of England In Particular* (Oxford: 4105.d.55., pp. iv. 1-62, 4°, 1702), p. 24.

[62] Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft*, p. 173.

[63] Dennis, *The Danger of Priestcraft to Religion and Government: With Some Politick Reasons for Toleration. Occasion'd By a Discourse of Mr. Sacheverell's, intitul'd The Political Union, &c. lately printed at Oxford. In a Letter to a New-elected Member of Parliament.* (698.i.26., pp. 3-22, 4°, 1702), p. 4.

Dennis proposed four levels of betrayal, with "Money" at the base. "Conscience" here primarily refers to the manipulation of Non-Jurors by Jacobites, a point which Defoe might also have made in a more exact form given its centrality as a term in the Conformity debate. Though placed third, in this equation a reversal subordinates it to the drive for "Dominion". It will be important, then, to look at how *The Shortest Way* redeployed Dennis's four levels. Careful to differentiate between "Religion it self" and "Priestcraft", which "savours of Persecution ... because it is contrary to Humility, to Meekness, to Mercy, to Peace-making, and above all to Charity", he claimed that he had "never met with any Discourse that was writ with less Religion and less Good-manners, or with more Sophistry or more Malice" [...].

> For what can be the Reason that the Christian Religion, whose Design is Union, has been made use of to sow more Divisions and more Dissensions in the Nations in which it has been establish'd, than ever the Pagan Religion did among the antient *Romans* ; but because too many of the Christian Priests interfere with Government, which the *Romans* were by much too wise to permit to theirs ? [64]

Roman originals shore up the Republican argument. At one level, then, Defoe's own Roman analogies reposition and critically redefine two opposed ideological perspectives, whilst repeating Dennis's idea that "being out of Charity is Murder, if we will believe *St. John*, I Epist. 3. 15. *Whosoever hateth his Brother is a Murderer.* The Reason is plain: He who hates his Brother would kill him, if he were not restrain'd by Law" [65]. Further, as will be seen, another of his illustrations comes even closer to *The Shortest Way*'s use of negation or denial. Calling Sacheverell "the most violent even of the Violent", Dennis looked at the wider implications of his union plans and asked: "Is not his Design apparently to set three Nations at variance ?" Several pages later, he returned to this theme, stating that whilst "the

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[64] Dennis, *The Danger of Priestcraft*, pp. 5-9.
[65] Dennis, *The Danger of Priestcraft*, p. 22.

effecting of this Design would weaken the *English*," owing to religious differences it would also probably "quite alienate the *Scots* from us", making "them believe they have been abus'd and laugh'd at, and the Union from that time would become a general Jest" [66].

Reinterpreting Scotland's independent stance as a threat "that if we won't Unite with them, they will not settle the Crown with us again, but when Her Majesty Dies, will chuse a King for themselves", *The Shortest Way* declared:

> If they won't, we must make them, and 'tis not the first time we have let them know we are able. The Crowns of these Kingdoms have not so far disowned the Right of Succession, but they may retrieve it again, and if *Scotland* thinks to come off from a Successive to an Elective State of Government, *England* has not promised not to assist the Right Heir, and put them into Possession, without any regard to their ridiculous Settlements. [67]

If *The Shortest Way*'s arguments grow steadily more fantastic, references to France extend the aggressive mood after the attention given to Union with Scotland, by force if necessary, when the speaker comments that English Dissenters "are not so Numerous as the Protestants in *France*, and yet the *French* King effectually clear'd the Nation of them at once, and we don't find he Misses them at Home" [68]. Yet, a peculiarly individual voice punctuates the mounting hysteria, interspersing Tory positions with some that would be wholly implausible in a High Churchman, and which introduce further contradictions. Thus, looking for an analogy to illustrate the possible success of legalized violence, the speaker returns to a time when England was at war with France, selecting events intimately

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[66] Dennis, *The Danger of Priestcraft*, pp. 11-9.
[67] Defoe, *The Shortest Way With the Dissenters: or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church*, repr. in *TC*, pp. 425-40, (p. 430). Henceforth *SW*.
[68] Defoe, *SW*, in *TC*, p. 431.

associated with Williamite foreign policy and the new financial world, reified in a Whig, Scottish supported, institution:

> 'Twas a great Argument some People used against Suppressing the Old Money, that 'twas a Time of War, and 'twas too great a Risque for the Nation to run, if we shou'd not master it, we shou'd be undone: and yet the Sequel prov'd the Hazard was not so great, but it might be master'd, and the Success was answerable. The suppressing the Dissenters is not a harder Work, nor a Work of less Necessity to the Publick: we can never enjoy a settled uninterrupted Union and Tranquility in this Nation, till the Spirit of Whiggisme, Faction, and Schism is melted down like the Old-Money. [69]

'Suppressing' and 'Old-Money', repeated emphatically, link men and money, the inexact analogy admitting the euphemism in suppress also refers to historic events such as shipping of clipped silver to France. If clipping and coining remained treasonable offences in Anne's reign punishable by burning, this theme resurfaces when the speaker disagrees with "another Hot and Cold Objector" that such plans would be tantamount to "renewing Fire and Faggot, reviving the Act *De Heret. Comburendo*", and thus "Cruelty in its Nature, and Barbarous to all the World" [70]. Mentioning the Act for burning heretics, which had given bishops the last word above kings, underscores the divergent powers of Church and State which Sacheverell wished to unite. Further, even by the text's own logic, the speaker's answer, that it is cruel "to kill a Snake or a Toad in cold Blood, but the Poyson of their Nature makes it a Charity to our Neighbours, to destroy those Creatures, not for any personal Injury receiv'd, but for prevention", contradicts the opening identification of Dissenters with a Cock roosting "in the Stable" [71].

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[69] Defoe, *SW*, in *TC*, p. 432. Dissenters and Whigs become synonymous, a common enough Tory approach at times but here, rather than isolating it along purely religious to divide and rule, it strengthens the former group and politicizes the problem.
[70] Defoe, *SW*, in *TC*, p. 434.
[71] Defoe, *SW*, in *TC*, p. 434, p. 425.

Having foregrounded the relationship with France, the full force of Defoe's strategic contradictions can now be traced through the second classical quotation, attributed in error to Scipio. Some knowledge of Cato, its true author, was already suggested, since he was also the source (though admittedly left unidentified and misquoted) of the first maxim which rounds off the declaration that "Heaven has made way for their Destruction,"

> and if we do not close with the Divine occasion, we are to blame our selves, and may remember that we had once an opportunity to serve the Church of *England*, by extirpating her implacable Enemies, and having let slip the Minute that Heaven presented, may experimentally Complain, *Post est Occasio Calva.* [72]

Further, then, with the theme of destruction well developed, the speaker continues to negate himself with the claim: "I do not prescribe Fire and Faggot, but as *Scipio* said of Carthage, *Delenda est Carthago*, They are to be Rooted out of this Nation, if ever we will live in Peace, serve God, or enjoy our own" [73]. Both Scipio Africanus and his brother, Nasica, opposed the destruction of Carthage. Failure to specify which Scipio thus allows a double refusal of a statement already invalidated by misidentification. Crucially, the classically educated reader might also recall that Cato's position itself represented a volte-face.

In one attempt to identify its source, Tutchin's *Observator* told the *Country-man* that he believed *The Shortest Way*'s author "to be one of the Inferior Clergy, because he begins his Nonsense and Ribaldry with Sir R. *L'Estrange* their *Quondam* Guide, he quotes a Fable of his of the Cock and the Horses", and because "he has quoted two Latin Sentences not above three or four words each and has made false Latin of 'em" [74]. Without, then, clarifying

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[72] Defoe, *SW*, in *TC*, p. 433.
[73] Defoe, *SW*, in *TC*, p. 435.
[74] Tutchin, *Observator*, No. 71, 23-6 Dec., 1702.

whether or not he had noted the misattribution, Tutchin's response can be taken as a knowing one which, by not acknowledging the possibility of impersonation or irony, placed Defoe in a more difficult position.

Yet the High Church identification central to the text's agenda, which combines low intellectual status and poor education with rabid aggression and grandiose attitudes, makes cultural references relevant to the contradictory patterns already outlined. For, if Elizabethan England was felt to have reached "a stage of development roughly corresponding to the period following Rome's defeat of Carthage", by which English ideologues then meant France, near the end of the seventeenth century Cato's phrase provided the title for Shaftsbury's famous 1672 speech [75]. This had, in its turn, been noted in Leslie's own 1695 tract, *Delenda Carthago*, which compared the Dutch to Carthage and England to Rome. Listing their cruelties he asked, "Is it for their *Religion* that we love the *Dutch* ? I wish *Religion*, of any sort had so much Power in *England*", before going on to assert that it was "neither the *Interest* of *England* or *France* to Invade or Conquer one another; and they are not the *Aggressors*" [76].

Applying the Carthage analogy to the Dissenters, makes them something of an *imperium in imperio*, a notable tactic since the constitutional anxieties it suggests had been strengthened by Defoe himself when he characterized the dissenting community in just this way in an Occasional Conformity tract of November, 1702. Further, *The Shortest Way*'s death driven logic also reminded its critics of earlier recommendations for religious persecution. Thus, one writer reflected, "Most part of the nation may remember that *L'Estrange*, in his *Observators*, when the blessed Designs of bringing in Popery and Arbitrary Power upon us,

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[75] Stewart Crehan, 'The Roman Analogy', *L&H*, 6:1 (1980), 19-42, (p. 24). See also F. E. Adcock, ' 'Delenda est Carthago', *CHJ*, VIII (1944), 117-28.

[76] Leslie, *Delenda Carthago. Or, the True Interest of England in Relation to France and Holland.* MS note, "By Mr. Leslie" (8026.bb.8., pp. 1-8, 1695?), pp. 2-3, p. 8.

were in their full Vigor, advised to cutting of Throats and a Reconciliation with *Rome*, which made many of his *quondam* Followers drop him" [77]. Crucially, then, the double position that results from these multiple identifications is in place before the harshest measures are unveiled:

> — *Alas* ! *the Church of England!* What with Popery on one Hand, and Schismaticks on the other ; how has She been Crucified between two Thieves.
>
> Now *let us crucifie the Thieves.* Let her Foundations be Establish'd upon the Destruction of her Enemies : The Doors of Mercy being always open to the returning Part of the deluded People : Let the Obstinate be rul'd with the Rod of Iron. [78]

One tract in the standing army debate had opened with the comment, "I have sometimes heard from the Pulpit, That the Church of *England* is Crucified between two Thieves, the Papists on the one hand, and the Presbyterians; And I am afraid the Government of England is at this time in danger of being Crucified between Two F---ls" [79]. Further, *Jura Populi Anglicani*, which formed part of the constitutional debate that prompted Defoe's *Memorial* and *History*, used the analogy to flatter Whig Bishops for their perceptiveness:

> *The Alarm given was, That the Monarchy and Church were to be destroy'd by* Republicans *and* Fanaticks. *The Bishops saw where the real danger lay, that they were the* Thieves, *who cried* Thief *first* ; [80]

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[77] *Reflections Upon some Scandalous and Malicious Pamphlets, viz. I. The Shortest Way with the Dissenters ...* (698.i.27, 4°, pp. 3-23, 1703), p. 10; attributed without evidence to Defoe by Bastian, *Early Life*, p. 315.

[78] Defoe, *SW*, in *TC*, p. 440.

[79] *Some Remarks Upon a Late Paper, Entituled, An Argument*, p. 1.

[80] Somers (?), *Jura Populi Anglicani*, (p. xiii) which also filtered one of Occasional Conformity's key images across metaphoric boundaries into wider political discourse: "*Parties are truly and properly to be distinguished into those who are for the Jacobite or* French *Interest (for it is impossible to separate them) and those who are for our present Settlement, or the true Interest of* England. *This being the distinction of Parties, I shall as cheerfully and readily acknowledge my self of a Party, as St.* Paul *own'd himself an* Heretick *after the way which his Enemies called* Heresy." (p.xii).

If, then, Defoe deployed an image that was, by 1702, both dated and overlaid with contradictory political implications, the relevance of the Aesopian opening to events after Christ's crucifixion, as to Dennis's use of Peter's denial, indicates *The Shortest Way*'s complex ironic tactics [81]. And, as discussed earlier, the false *Observator* continues precisely this process of denial. Whilst, then, the High Church persona has been called "a spokesman for the Roman Soldiers", the multiple identifications and parallels work more extensively than this against themselves and each other [82]. For, at one level, the speaker can only be compared with "the chief priests and the rulers and the people", who voice a desire for cruxifixion when granted the choice by Pilate in accordance with Jewish law, ensuring that Christ and not Barabas, "who for a certain sedition made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison", goes on to death rather than freedom [83]. In contrast, and though members of an occupying force, the soldiers never strictly have this kind of power.

Further, whilst Defoe's allusions to current struggles between religious observance and civil law show a sensitivity to variant interpretive procedures, out of the four orthodox accounts of the crucifixion scene only in *Luke* did Christ assure one thief of forgiveness [84]. The impenitent thief, a railleur and malcontent, resembles *The Shortest Way* voice that publicly lectures Queen Anne, thus undermining the social logic. Accentuating the danger of Popery thus serves the Dissenters, since it suggests that they, rather than Catholics, are the more appropriate candidates for joining Christ in Heaven. The cock, then, provides a significant link in the last stages of relations between Christ and Peter, upon whom the Church is first

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[81] My argument here owes its starting point to Downie, 'Defoe's *Shortest Way*', pp. 131-6.
[82] S. A. Black, 'Defoe's Shortest Way', *AN&Q*, 5 (1966), pp. 51-2, (p. 52); and see *Luke*, 23. 43.
[83] *Luke*, 23. 13-9.
[84] See *Matthew*, 27. 43-4; *Mark*, 15. 32; and *Luke*, 23. 33-43, esp.: "39 And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him saying, If thou be Christ, save thyself and us. / 40 But the other answering rebuked him, saying Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation ? / 41 And we indeed justly ; for we receive the due reward of our deeds : but this man hath done nothing amiss. / 42 And he said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom. / 43 And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To day thou shalt be with me in paradise."

established, as a reminder of denial. Moved to tears after the third cock crew, the disciple is brought back to a sense of responsibility. And it was precisely this incident that Dennis had also considered when he wrote that "no Man denies the Saviour of the World"

> so effectually as by his Works: *St. Peter* denied him in Words, and yet believed in him ; but he who denies him by his Works, denies him from his very Heart. Now he denies him by his Works the most effectually, whose Works shew least of Charity. [85]

Whilst, then, Dennis's attack on Sacheverell offered an isolated instance of denial, its operation within Defoe's rhetoric was far more complex and integral, and links the *History* with his *Dialogue*, and *The Shortest Way*, in which irony stems from the particular form of denial categorized as negation, that shows the speaker to have separated intellect from emotion. Dennis's Republican agenda attacked the politics of religious extremism. Defoe was for his part more radical, when proposing a real violence coincidental with the act of establishing the Church, rather than the secular law. For not only did he thus admit the reverse of the law, but he showed how High Church intolerance, by extending that originary violence, symbolized the intertwining of the life and death drives, revealing the force implicit in any illusion of union.

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[85] Dennis, *The Danger of Priestcraft*, p. 10.

6. "Faux's dark Lanthorn"

> This is the Dissimulation I Recomend, which is not Unlike what the Apostle Sayes of himself; becoming all Things to all Men, that he might Gain Some. This Hypocrise is a Vertue, and by This Conduct you Shall Make your Self Popular, you shall be Faithfull and Usefull to the Soveraign and belov'd by The People. [1]

Recommending "Dissimulation" to Harley, Defoe paraphrased St. Paul's words from I *Corinthians*, 9: 19-23, that he later applied to his work in Scotland before the Union. Few post-Augustinian writers accepted Paul's insistence in *Galatians*, probably the "most important" and relevant Bible text, "that those who are justified by their faith in Christ are freed from their bondage to the Law", as a justification of dissimulation [2]. Referring to only one of the New Testament sources Jerome used to defend dissimulation against Augustine, Defoe's complex stance on Occasional Conformity was thus one that justified the master's virtuous hypocrisy. At the same time, without accepting that he was in any real sense ready to betray the Dissenters, it should be noted that he never saw them as a body whose faith justified any avoidance of the law [3].

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[1] Epigraph: Defoe, 'Letter 14. [*To* Robert Harley]. [*July-August 1704 ?*]', in *LDH*, pp. 29-50, (p. 43).

[2] Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 15-6. See *Galatians*, 2:11-14.

[3] See Novak, *Economics and the Fiction*, pp. 3-4.

Defoe advised Harley in the same letter to gain "Popularity" by "Dissimulation". For, as "a Lye Does Not Consist in the Indirect Position of words, but in the Design by False Speaking, to Deceiv and Injure my Neighbour, So Dissembling does Not Consist in Puting a Different Face Upon Our Actions, but in the further Applying That Concealment to the Prejudice of the Person". Yet his later image, of coaxing someone "who on a Surprize is Apt to fall into Dangerous Convulsions" out of a burning house, with a "Smileing, and Pleasant" request "to Rise and Go abroad", which may reflect his own attitude to the Dissenters, does not entirely correspond to the role suggested for Harley, which would allow him to be the master by seeming to be the servant [4].

Later the same year, Defoe was prepared to "Possibly Grant The Temper of the Dissenters Not So Well Quallify'd for the Prosperity of Their Princes favour as Other Men, and Grant They are Better kept at a Due Distance Provided Not Made Uneasy." Calling them "Divided and Impolitick", and "Consequently Passiv in all Matters of Govornment", was certainly to repeat the public line he had taken. Yet the assertion that, "as Words have given Them so much Uneasiness, Words May Restore it and Cure all the Breach without Changing the Mannagement Other Than what is in Prospect" also serves to introduce the suggestion:

> Her Majesty is Easily Able to Clear This by shifting but a Few Obnoxious hands, and Putting her Self upon the Fidelity and Prudence of Such a Ministry as Neither Side Can Object Against without Manifestly Discovering that Tis the Places, Not the Men, They are Concern'd About. [5]

These suggestions for ministerial empowerment and "Some Small Mannagement Among the Dissenters by Fathfull Agents" are, then, shot through with unreality, and it seems telling that, having told Harley how to control the Dissenters, Defoe assured him that "it

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[4] Defoe, 'Letter 14', p. 42.

[5] Defoe, 'Letter 15. *To* Robert Harley. [*August-September 1704 ?*]', in *LDH*, pp. 50-6, (p. 54).

shall Never Disturb Them if They Are No Way Concernd in the Govornment, while They See at the Same Time, it is in the hands of Such as Sincerely Design Their Protection, and Not their Destruction."

> And he that will Not be Content in such a Case will be Disown'd as a Hypocrite, and Pass for a Politick, Not a Religious Dissenter. [6]

Harley's "principal ecclesiastical lieutenant" by this time was Francis Atterbury, one of William's main Convocation opponents, and no friend of the Dissenters [7]. Yet Defoe's plan promised his employer the power of a Richelieu, whilst making the monarch no more than "a cypher" [8]. If Defoe aimed to provide a protective umbrella for those Non-conformists who were never involved in public life, but who suffered the same slander, the last two lines describe what he had always presented as a moral equation in political terms. Further, whilst Defoe shows himself aware that his techniques might succeed at the audience's expense, his strategy had something in common with High Church critics who, by 1705, were noting changes in his public statements. Thus, satirizing its fictional source, *A Letter from a Dissenter in the City, to his Country-Friend* named Occasional Conformity's most effective dissenting critic. "By this Seasonable Word *Moderation*," crowed the anonymous Tory, "we have won the Hearts of all the soft and good-natur'd Gentlemen of the whole *Low Church.* Yea, and of our own *Consciencious* Brethren too who have now wip'd their Mouths with *Moderation*, as the Foul-mouth'd *D' Foe* himself has." Ridiculing Bishop Burnet's European travels, the self-condemning persona smirked "such perfect *Venetians* are we, the *True Politick Dissenters*" [9].

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[6] Defoe, 'Letter 15', in *LDH*, p. 55.

[7] G. V. Bennett, 'Conflict in the Church', in *Britain After the Glorious Revolution, 1689-1714*, ed. by Geoffrey Holmes (Macmillan, 1969), pp. 155-75, (p. 169).

[8] Schonhorn, *Defoe's Politics*, p. 107.

[9] *A Letter from a Dissenter in the City, to his Country-Friend. Wherein Moderation and Occasional Conformity are Vindicated* ... (698.1.4 (5), pp. 1-14, 4°, 1705), pp. 3-6.

Moderation may, as Pierre Bourdieu notes, simply name another route to power, yet it united diverse support for Occasional Conformity, from the Low Church Burnet to the Freethinking Toland and, perhaps most famously, the Presbyterian minister James Owen, whose *Moderation a Virtue*, published on 30 July, 1703, argued that the practice had originated with Christ and his Disciples [10]. Though his opposition to it made Defoe seem like a dissenting High-Flyer, a part at odds with their brand of Moderation, the consistency his current bibliographers have described is, then, not necessarily the part of his rhetorical strategy which now needs most attention. For if, as previous Chapters have shown, the perversity in "logical discomforts" admits the "unreliability" of his rhetoric's own ideal identifications, Defoe may be said to use the appearence of consistency central to the *disputatio* [11]. And whilst Roland Barthes once commented that "to evaluate the neurotic meaning of such an exercise," would require a return "to the Greek *machê*, that kind of agonistic sensibility which made intolerable to the Greeks (then to the West) *all expressions in which the subject is in contradiction with itself*", his reflection that "it sufficed to force an adversary to contradict himself to reduce him, eliminate him, cancel him out", also describes the working of the death drive in Lacan's model of intrapsychic conflict [12].

In January, 1698, an anonymous *Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters* was addressed to Humphrey Edwin, the Lord Mayor. Its appearence four years before any Occasional Conformity Bill may help to explain why all readings since Wilson, whatever consistency they grant Defoe's moral rhetoric, nevertheless take it at face value. Wilson, however, who in places reversed an argument "appropriate" to "an acute casuist", didn't evaluate Ridpath's *A Dialogue Betwixt Jack and Will, Concerning the Lord Mayor's Going to Meeting-Houses*, a secular satire from early December, 1697, that preceded Defoe's *Enquiry* by about a

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10 See Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, trans. by Peter Collier (Cambridge: Polity / Blackwell, 1988), pp. 5-30; see James Owen, *Moderation a Virtue: Or, The Occasional Conformist Justify'd From the Imputation of Hypocrisy* (4105.aaa.20, pp. 5-50, 4°, 1703).

11 Furbank and Owens, *Canonisation*, pp. 144-50.

12 Barthes, 'The Old Rhetoric', pp. 40-1.

month [13]. Edwin took his official sword to the Established Communion and was said to have required his Anglican sword-bearer to accompany him to a Meeting House. The incident always had, then, wider implications. Yet, if Edwin occasionally conformed, he was known to have done so for a number of years, and not simply for a place. Jack, Ridpath's blinkered Tory, called his "going to a Conventicle with the Sword ... an Injury to the Church", that made "a Surrender of the Church of *England*'s Authority to a pitiful little Conventicle." That "Meetings have only a Liberty, but ours is the Church establish'd by Law", was however rebutted by Will, as "Nonsense. The Meetings are as much establish'd by Law as the Church of England, if an Act of Parliament be a Law". If Defoe agreed with Will that Dissenters were "stanch Patriots of their Country," he did not himself select a Williamite Whig persona to describe them as "Defenders of our Religion and Liberties, as any Men in the Nation" [14]. Further, he would have seen that, making Parliament the central bulwark against Tory churchmen's steadily growing power, Ridpath's argument also directly challenged the views that their main spokesman had advanced at the end of 1696.

Ridpath didn't mention the monarch who was behind the refusal to allow Convocation to assemble, yet the success of Atterbury's *A Letter to a Convocation Man* marked the increasing opposition to William's involvement in church affairs. Bishops, it argued, "by reason of their high Station in the House of Peers, and the great Business, which on that account their Hands are full of, may not miss their Seat in a Convocation-House". Thus, demands for an assembly came mainly from the mainly Tory "Inferiour Clergy" with "leisure to reflect often" on their "Neglect" and "the Methods that are taking of making 'em useless", but

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[13] Wilson, *Memoirs*, Vol. I. pp. 273-6. Wilson did, however, note Ridpath's later *A Rowland for an Oliver: Or, a Sharp Rebuke to a sawcy Levite. In Answer to a Sermon Preach'd by Edward Oliver ... By a Lover Of Unity*, 2nd edn (4105.aaa. 42, 4°, 1699), published November 15, 1698, see *Flying Post*, No. 548.

[14] Ridpath, *A Dialogue Betwixt Jack and Will, Concerning the Lord Mayor's Going to Meeting-Houses with the Sword Carried Before Him, &c.* (816.l.44, pp. 3-15, °4, 1697), pp. 5-7, p. 13. First adv. in *Post Man*, No. 403, Nov. 30-Dec. 2, 1697.

who had once "stoutly" defended the "Laws of the Realm", when Edward I attempted "by Commission ... to collect Money without the Assent of Parliament" [15].

Earlier, Atterbury had attacked those with "no Religion at the bottom, nor any Notion of a Church, however for their Worldly Interest they may pretend to this or that Party, by joining themselves to its Communion (and too many such, we may justly believe, there are amongst us)". And, though he did not doubt directly "His Majesty's Good Will", Atterbury nevertheless reminded his readers that "some, who would be thought to understand His Mind best, and to be most in his Interests, are pleas'd in all Companies to admire and celebrate a Prince of no Religion, as the best of all Governours : For which sawcy Insinuation, we hope, in time, that Vengeance will find 'em." Yet, despite such "Contumely and Reproach",

> we cannot discover what Sect or Perswasion there is among us, either so amiable, as to steal his Inclinations from us; or so numerous and powerful, as to make it a piece of Policy not to espouse Us. [16]

Since Convocation was, Atterbury argued, "in so many respects" like "a Free Parliament", surely the King's Writ for its assembly "ought to Issue, whensoever a Summons goes out for a Parliament?" For "otherwise they are an Assembly ... to all Intents and Purposes *His*, upon whose Will, not only their Meeting, but their very Debating depends" [17].

Such sarcasm and insinuation tapped into the discontent that sprang from having a Calvinist and, thus, an Occasional Conformist, heading the Anglican church, one who had tried to have the Convention Parliament remove the Test Act from the statute book. It also

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15 Francis Atterbury, Bp of Rochester, *A Letter to a Convocation-Man Concerning the Rights, Powers, and Priviledges of that Body* (698.f.1. (6), pp. 1-68, 4°, 1697), pp. 66-7. Publ. Oct. 31, 1696, see *Post Man*, No. 231; and see Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730: The Career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), pp. 48-51.

16 Atterbury, *A Letter to a Convocation-Man*, p. 20, pp. 22-3.

17 Atterbury, *A Letter to a Convocation-Man*, p. 30, pp. 40-1.

increased the pressure for assembly that William bowed to in 1699. The practice supported by Ridpath, who dealt with political issues directly, enabled the king to employ politically sympathetic Dissenters in trying circumstances. Will declares that Edwin's going to both religious services "neither adds to the Authority of the Meetings, nor derogates from the Authority of the Church of *England*, but rather enlarges her Pale." Flying his Whig colours, he stated that Dissenters were "allowed their Meetings by Act of Parliament, which I hope is another kind of Authority than my Lord Mayor's Sword." Jack, suddenly compliant, accepts the former as a "better Authority" [18].

A Whig interpretation of the relationship between Parliament and Church later gains the upper hand when Will, reminding Jack that the Bishops sitting in the House of Lords represent the Church's voice in Parliament, argues that when "you inveigh against the Liberty given to our Dissenting Brethren, you inveigh against the Church of *England* her self" [19]. Opposing assembly demands for Convocation in similar terms, Will asserts that "to be so angry at the Parliament"

> for taking in all those that embrace the Doctrine of the Church under the Protection of the Law, tho it has not admitted 'em to partake of the Benefices, is a horrid piece of Ingratitude to that August Assembly, who have all along defended the Church of *England* in the Possession of what she enjoys, more than her Brethren the Dissenters; and by this Liberty the Parliament have added to her Strength, by giving those a Legal Authority to defend her Doctrine without Wages, which so many of those that profess themselves to be her Sons, have either slily undermin'd, or but faintly asserted, notwithstanding their Benefices. [20]

Ridpath's references to 'Benefices' and 'Wages' satirized a favourite Whig target, the poor and mainly Tory 'inferiour clergy' who supported Atterbury and who, without Convocation,

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[18] Ridpath, *A Dialogue Betwixt Jack and Will*, p. 6.
[19] Ridpath, *A Dialogue Betwixt Jack and Will*, p. 11.
[20] Ridpath, *A Dialogue Betwixt Jack and Will*, pp. 12-3.

felt voiceless and forgotten [21]. Thus, what might seem a localized debate when Defoe's first entered it already had a powerful economic dimension. Perhaps even more importantly, as the discussion of Ridpath's response to Atterbury showed, the definition of law was shown to be unstable, itself part of more diverse processes of political contestation. Whilst Defoe's tactics changed as the conditions and significance of the debate altered in Anne's reign, his earliest published views on Occasional Conformity thus challenged William's position and *modus operandi.* Further, his relations with Edwin may be less significant than the public identification suggested by the 1698 *Enquiry* Preface [22]:

> *We were in hopes when* Your Lordship *first appear'd in the Quire at* Paul's, *that you were effectually convinced of your former Error , as a Dissenter ; and that Noble Quire should have been grac'd at its first Opening with so Noble a Convert as* Your Lordship ; *but since we find* Your Lordship *is pleased to practice such* Latitudinarian *Principles, as to be a* Conformist *in the Morning, and a* Noncon-formist *before Night ; it puts us upon considering what this new sort of a Religion that looks two ways at once, means.* [23]

Anonymity was, then, crucial to Defoe's entry into a debate about consistency, precisely because he first adopted an Anglican persona to demand that dissenting office holders be punished by, or excluded from, their own religious groups. And though the opposition emphasized the source of such uncompromising lines when the *Enquiry*'s November, 1700, edition with a new Preface addressed to John Howe and signed "*D.F.*", revealed an author who only sought the truth from one wiser than himself, such politicized demands had meant something quite different when voiced by an Anglican. Amalgamating the two *Enquiry* editions, Wilson suppressed any double reading at the outset. Yet, it is surely the foundational irony that, having turned his sarcastic identification of Occasional Conformists

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21 See Bennett, 'Conflict', p. 164.

22 See *Life*, pp. 86-8; and Bastian, *Early Life*, pp. 209-10, who asks "how widely" Defoe "was known as the author until he went out of his way", in the *Enquiry*'s second edition, "to draw attention to the fact".

23 Defoe, 'Preface to the Lord Mayor', *An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, In Cases of Preferment. With A Preface to the Lord Mayor, Occasioned by his carrying the Sword to a Conventicle* (1368.f.29., pp. i-vi. 1-28, 4°, 1698), p. v. Earliest adv. found in *Post Man*, No. 410, Jan. 8-11, 1698.

as "*Patriots that* will *damn their Souls to save their Country*", into the more direct charge "that all this Compliance is not, To be admitted to Places, that they may be able to serve their Country, but to save the Five hundred pounds, and other Penalties of that Act", Defoe's text occupied both rhetorical positions, as it asserted the need for consistency in a phrase—"Methinks Men should seem what they are"—that leads to a memorable aside: "if he cannot suffer one way, let him suffer another" [24]. Thus, the same syllogistic formula which Defoe would elsewhere use to 'prove' Occasional Conformity wrong here the reveals the sadomasochistic paradigm inextricably entwined with the process of 'laying down the law'. The first Preface opens:

> My LORD,
>
> I *Know not that the following Sheets will at all affect* Your Lordship, *for I cannot say, That* Your Lordship *did Communicate with the Dissenters before, or does with the Church now ; nor does it Import much whether you did either. The Discourse is not meant for a Satyr on* Your Lordship, *nor upon any Man else ; neither has it any Double Aspect, but directly Points at the Fact, which whether it be a Crime or not, let their Consciences judge, who know themselves Guilty.* [25]

Emphasizing the rhetorical nature of Defoe's involvement, the Anglican persona's denial of "*any Double Aspect*" is very much in line with the repeated negative protestations which, suggesting paralipsis, both authorize the surface meaning and hint at its reversal. If the first sentence, then, strongly implies that the Mayor is an atheist—a turn the second Preface loosely repeated against Abney—the later Pinners' Hall allusions appear in the worst light possible. Each twist gradually justifies the Anglican Prefacer's continued offensiveness. By cumulative repetition, he also sneers at Edwin's official title. The terms 'My Lord', and 'Your Lordship', are used a total of 49 times in six pages. In contrast to this superficial courtesy which soon sounds sarcastic, the more neutral "Lord Mayor" appears only once.

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[24] Defoe, *An Enquiry* (1698), pp. 18-23.
[25] Defoe, *An Enquiry* (1698), p. i.

Defoe's Anglican persona thus went against the friendly and informal tone found, for example, in the Epistle Dedicatory to Samuel Bradford's January 1698 sermon, *A Perswasive to Peace and Unity*, which addressed the Mayor twice as "You" [26]. Suggesting a counting process, the Preface's repetition creates a sense of expectancy in some way fulfilled by the final signature, "*One, Two, Three, Four*", from which point begins a work that will differently confound both camps [27].

Whilst the main text voice blends church historian and Old Testament prophet, the latter identification starts with a title page epigraph, from I *Kings*, 18. 21, "*If the Lord be God, follow him : but if Baal, then follow him*", that immediately recalled decades of religious dispute, whether between Anglicans and Roman Catholics, or between the former group and Puritans or Dissenters. The citation, however, also had particular relevance to Gunpowder Plot rhetoric, as illustrated by the Bishop of Lincoln's Preface to *The Gunpowder-Treason*, a 1679 collection which mingled the rhetoric of anti-Catholicism and anti-Dissenter polemic. "The *Jews*", wrote Thomas Barlow, "by the approbation and encouragement of *Elijah*,"

> justly slew all *Baal*'s Priests in the ... Old Testament; and therefore Roman-Catholiques, by the approbation and encouragement of the Pope, and a General ... Council, may destroy *Baal*'s Priests, (for so they call all the Protestant Clergy) in the New. [28]

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[26] See Defoe, 'Preface', *An Enquiry* (1698), pp. i-vi, for 'My Lord' (5 instances), and 'Your Lordship' (44 instances); the position of Lord Mayor is mentioned on p. ii. See Samuel Bradford, 'Epistle Dedicatory', *A Perswasive to Peace and Unity. A Sermon preached before the Right Honourable Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of the City of london; At the Church of St. Mary le bow, on Sunday January 16th 1697/8* (225.i.7 (1), 1697), pr. March 2, 1698.

[27] Defoe, 'Preface', *An Enquiry* (1698), p. vi.

[28] *The Gunpowder-Treason: With a Discourse of the Manner of its Discovery ; and ... A Preface touching that Horrid Conspiracy, By the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Bishop of Lincoln ...* (808.c.9. pp. 1-58. 1-263., 8°, 1679), pp. 25-6.

At the same time, the *Enquiry* included asides such as "Pride and Hypocrisy are the two Regnant Vices of the Church", and its reading of church history would hardly have found favour with an Anglican [29].

Thus, describing Bishops Ridley and Hooper as "two of the most Glorious Triumphant Martyrs that ever confest the Truth of Christ at the Stake", Defoe comments that, in Mary's reign, "the Fire of Persecution, (as the Greater Light obscures the Less), extinguish'd that of Dissention." Defoe returned specifically to Hooper's example in at least one later tract, yet it is in the context of persecution, a theme his writing on Occasional Conformity explored from a number of different angles, that the central metaphor of light takes on this double reference. This persecution narrative, however, combined with how "*Germany* especially was a Sanctuary for the Distressed *English* Protestants, that Country having been before-hand with us in the Reformation", and the fact that, "when Queen *Elizabeth* rescu'd the Protestant Religion, and the Church enjoy'd its Peace again, the Debate reviv'd", goes against how Defoe later used the various contemporary Hugonot responses to persecution to treat Occasional Conformity as a shameful avoidance of potential social restrictions [30]. Further, in *An Enquiry*, this narrative feeds into a superficially similar point:

> I must acknowledge, that it fares with the Church of *England*, and with the Dissenters both, as it has always far'd with Christ's Church in the whole World ; That while Suppress and Persecuted, their Professors were few, and their Profession more severe ; but when a Religion comes to be the Mode of the Country, so many painted Hypocrites get into the Church, who are not by their Voices to be distinguish'd, that Guile is not to be seen, till it arrive to Apostacy. [31]

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[29] Defoe, *An Enquiry* (1698), p. 10.
[30] Defoe, *An Enquiry* (1698), pp. 5-7.
[31] Defoe, *An Enquiry* (1698), p. 8.

Both editions of Defoe's *Enquiry* were, to some extent, attacks upon men knighted by William, as the first edition's Preface reminded its readers when expressing "*Surprize*" at the "*Management*" of one whose " *Magnificent ... Figure*" had marked him as *"the Man whom the King delighted to Honour*". Hinting, then, that the case was now otherwise, the paragraph closed with an equally disingenuous remark, "Your Lordship *does not bear the Sword in vain*" [32]. Occasional Conformity only offered worldly advantage to a few wealthy Dissenters, yet the *Enquiry*'s double force posited a literal impossibility, to "Dissent, and yet at the same time Conform," to construct a Pauline paradox—"by Conforming I deny my Dissent being lawful, or by my Dissenting, I damn my Conforming as sinful"—that offers itself as a paradigm for wider reading [33].

Presenting a first person narrative which must disclaim the position it enacts, this debater's strategy acts out the symptom of internal contradiction Occasional Conformity is supposed to represent. But foregrounding the rehearsal's inauthenticity also questions the speaking voice itself. Defoe's method, then, produces the contradictions it assails. For, whilst he claims that, after a period of division, "our Eyes are at last open'd, and the Name of Protestant is now the common Title of an *Englishman*," his attack on Occasional Conformity works through the inflammatory metaphor of two religions in one [34]: "None but Protestants halt between *God* and *Baal* ; Christians of an Amphibious Nature, that have such Preposterous Consciences, that can believe one Way of Worship to be right, and yet serve God another way themselves". Having set up this opposition, Defoe's closing comment in the same paragraph can be read as a reflection on his own rhetorical practice: "To say a man can be of two Religions, is a Contradiction, unless there be two Gods to worship, or he has two Souls to save" [35]. It will be useful, then, to look at the premise from which Defoe's argument began:

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32 Defoe, 'Preface', *An Enquiry* (1698), p. i.
33 Defoe, *An Enquiry* (1698), p. 13.
34 Defoe, *An Enquiry* (1698), p. 9.
35 Defoe, *An Enquiry* (1698), pp. 10-11.

> He *who Dissents from an Establish'd Church on any account, but from a real Principle of Conscience, is a Politick, not a Religious Dissenter.* To explain my self ; He who Dissents from any other Reasons, but such as these, That he firmly believes the said Established Church is not of the purest Institution, but that he can really serve God more agreeable to his Will, and that accordingly 'tis his Duty to do it so, *and no otherwise.* Nay, he that cannot Dye, or at least desire to do so, rather than Conform, *ought to Conform. Schism* from the Church of Christ is, doubtless, a great Sin, and if I can avoid it, I ought to avoid it, but if not, the Cause of that Sin carries the Guilt with it. [36]

Presenting Occasional Conformity in January, 1698, as an incommensurable position, since "Nothing can be lawful and unlawful at the same time", Defoe strenuously evaded the fact that the practice might itself result from a legitimate religious choice, closing down the subject with seeming analogies, such as "several Opinions may at the same time consist in a Country, in a City, in a Family, but not in one entire Person, *that is impossible*", that finally provide no real comparison [37]. Yet such generalized attack also creates a partial suspension of belief and, in this instance, its bold tone implies a knowledge of unsubstantiated truths. Moreover, it encourages a measured acceptance, perhaps strengthened by either political opposition or social resentment. Indeed, this tactic resembled the "shrewd calculation" Leopold Damrosch detected in *The Poor Man's Plea* of March, 1698. A popular attack on the vices of the rich and powerful, it was unlikely to "convert" anyone, but offered something like a cathartic pleasure "flattering its readers' sense of their own moral righteousness" [38].

In places uncannily alike, both works deconstruct a thematics of *"Preferment"*, and the satirist's charge of hypocrisy, one that is at once personal and social, fuels both *Enquiry* and *Plea.* Though the early focus on an individual's relationship with his God restricts social criticism, the link points to 'double' elements in Defoe's method, its basic method being the

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36 Defoe, *An Enquiry* (1698), pp. 12-3.
37 Defoe, *An Enquiry* (1698), p. 13.
38 Leopold Damrosch, 'Defoe as Ambiguous Impersonator', *MP*, 71 (1974), 153-9, (p. 155).

Enquirer's accusation that dissenting congregations allow an office holder who takes Anglican communion to "be re-admitted, because of his Gold Ring and Fine Apparel, without a Penitent Acknowledgment" [39]. Yet, whilst the rich may receive special treatment, it would be necessary to see how the poor fare. The *Enquiry*'s subtextual strategy is highlighted when *The Poor Man's Plea* also asserts that "*The man with a Gold Ring and Gay Cloaths*," might evade justice here on earth, "but if a Poor Man get drunk, or swears an Oath, he must to the Stocks without Remedy" [40]. Displaying its social awareness from the outset of the 1698 edition Preface, *An Enquiry*'s sparing use of this position ensured that God's case against certain men was delivered by an urbanely prophetic persona to locate subliminal agreement and entertain attention away from chinks in the distorted simplification of social conditions, which draws on the political whilst subordinating it. Making his pacific gestures as antagonistic as possible, Defoe's propaganda was, like Atterbury's, calculated to benefit from the sense of frustration felt by the socially immobile, and those whose way and standard of life seemed threatened.

By the time Defoe's 1700 'Preface to Mr. How' repeated his "*Gay Cloaths, and the Gold Ring*" accusation, thus putting material possessions above the "*Persons*" that "*wear*" them, this strategy's double reflection had become clear since the writer, whose goading choice of words sent out contradictory signals, was known for his "ostentatious dress":

> Sir, *If you knew the Author, you would easily be satisfied that the Reason of this Preface, is not that he covets to engage in Controversy with a Person of your Capacity and Learning, being altogether unfit for such a Task, and no way a Match to your Talent that way.* [41]

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[39] Defoe, *An Enquiry* (1698), p. 24.

[40] Defoe, *The Poor Man's Plea, In Relation to all the Proclamations, Declarations, Acts of Parliament, &c. Which Have been, or shall be made, or publish'd, for a Reformation of Manners, and suppressing Immorality in the Nation* (1103.f.18., pp. i-ii. 1-31, 4°, 1698), p. 10; repr. in *TC*, pp. 284-302.

[41] *Life*, pp. 127-8; Defoe, *An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, In Cases of Preferment. With A Preface to Mr. How* (T. 1030. (18). pp. i-ii. 1-28, 4°, 1701), repr. in *TC*, pp. 303-22, (p. 304).

Defoe, whose best known pamphlet typifies the debate's extremism, behind which shifting options were rehearsed, must have sensed the potential harm his *Enquiry* interventions might do, and must have foreseen certain reactions to the tract's two editions which repressed the sociopolitical issues by arguing aggressively around points of contradiction in ways that Howe, morally concerned with religious charity, clearly found unwelcome. Yet his *Some Consideration of A Preface to an Enquiry*, which began with the "Hope" that Defoe's still anonymous "publick Challenge ... was given with an honest Intention", demonstrated how far the debate hung upon the potentially explosive issue of social authorization [42]. Speaking of the "ejected *London*-Ministers" who, in 1662, agreed "to hold *Occasional Communion*" with the main body of the Church, Howe wondered where Mr. Prefacer found "the Confidence to represent *this*, as a *new thing* ; and an *apostacy* from P*rimitive* P*uritanism !* that hath so much in it of the Spirit of *Primitive Christianity ... such Benignity*, even towards them by whom they suffer'd !"

> How strangely inverted, Sir, do things lie in your Mind ! must we accordingly transpose the names of *Vertue* and *Vice ?* And by how much more illustrious any render themselves, by the eminent Vertues of *Pride, Fury, Self Conceit, Censoriousness*, to the damning of every body, that in all things do not think, and do, as they ! [43]

Finding "nothing that looks like reasoning, but what is so idly sophistical, that any one of common sense can see through it ; such as that *(how can a man dissent and conform at the same time ?)*", Howe ended his reply by strongly asserting that, even were Defoe correct, "*that truth*, accompany'd with your temper of Spirit, is much worse than *their Errour*" [44]. Criticizing Defoe for his epigraph's "uncharitable ... profane and most impious Wit", he noted that "you are mighty fond of the Conceit, and we have it over and over ..., that the

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[42] John Howe, *Some Consideration of A Preface to an Enquiry, Concerning the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, &c. By John Howe, Minister of the Gospel. To whom that Preface (as he conceives) is Address'd* (698.i.3, pp. 1-34, 4°, 1701), p. 1.

[43] Howe, *Some Consideration of A Preface*, p. 33.

[44] Howe, *Some Consideration of A Preface*, pp. 33-4.

Conformists, and *Dissenters* serve two Gods (as one of them is miscall'd) and have two Religions" [45].

Discussing Occasional Conformity, disputants from both sides often cited Biblical examples that showed new legitimization procedures assessing and contesting their relations with dominant attitudes. Thus, in *A Letter to Mr. How*, Defoe inserted an identification with the blind beggar who was healed by Christ and then, according to *John*, excommunicated by the Pharisees, that he would rely on again when arguing that the practice was "not Condemn'd or Defended by the names of Authors on either side, but by Truth, Scripture, and Reason."

> *Thou wast altogether born in Sin*, says the High-Priest, and the Elders of the *Sanhedrim* to the Poor Man whom Christ had healed ; *and doest thou Teach us* ? And yet the poor Man was in the Right; and if *I* am so, tho' *I* was the meanest and most scandalous of Scriblers, is my Argument the worse ? [46]

Atterbury's attack on William's dissenting links paled beside *For God or for Baal; or, No Neutrality in Religion*, in which Philip Stubbs, having invoked the story of Elijah's battle against Israel's corrupted tribes, drew a parallel with Jeroboam, who "provoked God very highly",

> Who desiring to have them pickt Men of the Tribe of *Levi*, Men on whom should be found no manner of *Blemish*, Unexceptionable Persons in all respects, He rejects that Tribe, or rather, They rejecting his enormous Practices and Schismatical Proposals, *makes* to himself *Priests of the lowest of the People.*

Supporting Low Churchmen and Dissenters was, then, "for secular Ends to set up Altar against Altar, a sort of odd new-fangled Conventicles against the good Old Worship of *Israel*

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[45] Howe, *Some Consideration of A Preface*, pp. 26-7.
[46] Defoe, *A Letter to Mr. How*, in *TC*, p. 325; see *John*, 9.

by Law Establish'd, how speciously soever He might pretend to close with it, and perhaps to refine upon it or reform it" [47]. His description of that "*extraordinary* Prophet", whose words Defoe had adopted, as one who put "the Cause of God" before "his private Interests", and who "dared forfeit the otherwise valuable Character of *Moderation*, rather than sit down tamely silent", seems to mock Defoe's persona. Arguing that an Occasional Conformist was "like a silly little Bird that hops and chirps continually from one Branch to another, not chanting out his Notes, or fixing his Station upon either", Stubbs then quoted all Defoe's own similes from the 1700 edition of *An Enquiry*, emphasizing that it attacked those who took "*Occasional Communion* ... on a Civil Account", and ended with Defoe's statement that, in religion, there was "no Neuter Gender, no ambiguous Article, GOD or *Baal*: Mediums are impossible" [48].

Using that parallel, the Archdeacon of St. Alban's later returned to the issue of Schism. His sermon ends, however, on a note that Defoe was to repeat often in the next two years: "a *Separation* from *Love* and *Charity*, a *Schism* that eats out the Heart of Christianity, as some express it, is allowed on both sides, by the Church-man and Dissenter to involve Men in *Damnation* without Mercy."

> Let us no longer then any of us be gathering of Parties, and filling all places with Controversy in Religious matters especially ; But as the Ferment is in some measure laid in the *State* ; for shame let it no more work in the *Church* ; where while one is of *Paul*, another is of *Apollos*, and another of *Cephas*, 'tis too visible that but a few are of *Christ*.
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> Let those especially who cannot fairly *defend* their Post, *surrender* in such due time and manner, that we may be convinced they are for *Peace*. [49]

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[47] Philip Stubbs, Archdeacon of St. Alban's, *For God or for Baal; or, No Neutrality in Religion. A Sermon Against Occasional Communion, Preach'd on Sunday Oct. 4th 1702 in the Parish Churches of St. Alphage, and St. George Botolph-lane.* (4476.cc.110., pp. i-ii. 1-30, 4°, 1702), p. 5. See 1 *Kings*, 12. 31.

[48] Stubbs, *For God or for Baal*, pp. 8-10.

[49] Stubbs, *For God or for Baal*, p. 29, and see pp. 19-20.

Soon after Stubbs's sermon, in November, 1702, *An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity. Shewing that the Dissenters Are no Way Concern'd in it* replayed the title of Defoe's first tract on the subject, extending its argument. If some had, with Howe, found the language of his self-regulation proposals offensive, Defoe reverted to the earlier identification:

> But since I, *who was altogether Born in Sin*, have Undertaken to teach my Superiors, I desire to explain my self before they cast me out of the Synagogue.
>
> For as that blind Man thought 'twas a Marvellous thing they should not know whence he came that had opened his Eyes.
>
> So to me 'tis every jot as wonderful to find no Body of my Mind, and yet be Positively assured that I am in the Right. [50]

A few caustic asides directed at the Archdeacon read like an attempt to displace the responsibility for, and implications of, his own rhetorical strategy. Thus, after a reference to his *A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty* of June 1702, in which Defoe had argued that "the Church has been equally Disloyal, and has as often Resisted, and took Arms against, the Lawful Establish'd Power and Prince, as the Dissenter", he stated

> 'Tis also foreign to our Purpose to Examine or Reply to Dr. *Stubbs*, or the Multitude of Pamphleteers, who place themselves at the forelorn Hope of the Church, and begin the War in hopes of drawing on that whole Body to an Engagement ; when they can make it out, that the Dissenter and the Church are as far asunder in Religion as God and *Baal*, I may possibly think they Merit what they so much Covet, *viz.* to be Reply'd to. [51]

Contrasting national identity and religious affiliation, Defoe moved away from Conformity to introduce a socio-economic plan. Making autonomous separation a response to powerless segregation, would have been read (as he must have wished) as an external act of

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[50] Defoe, *An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity. Shewing that the Dissenters Are no Way Concern'd in it. By the Author of the Preface to Mr. Howe* (110.f.24., pp. 3-31, 4°, 1702), p. 4, repr. in *TC*, pp. 384-402.
[51] Defoe, *An Enquiry ... Shewing that the Dissenters Are no Way Concern'd*, p. 14.

aggression. If the new Enquirer is, like the old one, willing to place the next world before present concerns, his understated inflection has gained in range. Thus, having described a Dissenter as "an *Englishman* that is something desirous of going to Heaven", and who "finds that in his Opinion there are some Things in the Establish'd Way of Worship, which do not seem to correspond with the Rule he has found out in the Scripture," Defoe continues:

> If there are crept into his Company State Dissenters, Politick Dissenters, or any that give no Reason or other, or less Reasons, for their Dissenting than these, they are not of them, and we wish they would go out from them.
> 52

This barbed assertion, that "Politick Dissenters" may have crept into the dissenting community, and which this *Enquiry* repeats a number of times, reads like a High Church accusation in reverse. If the notion of creeping into a group of 'pure' Dissenters hardly seems an advantageous move, the rhetoric of impending ejection nevertheless supports such psychologically unconvincing misrepresentation. Defoe, who both scorned and enforced the concept of nationalism, plays on themes of national, in place of religious, unity, as he evades the moderate line that the country was Protestant first, and only secondarily beset by different opinions. At this stage, then, he had argued that an Occasional Conformity Bill wasn't persecutory, and could only be detrimental to 'Politick Dissenters'. The argument's direction alters, however, after the bold "offer"

> to you, who have any Interest in the *House of Commons*, we would humbly propose to have the Title of the Act alter'd, and to have it Entituled, *An Act for the better Uniting the Protestant Dissenters, by preventing Occasional Conformity to the Church of* England ; and when that is done, let it pass with all our Hearts ; and tho' we can easily see what the Design is, *viz.* That no Dissenter shall be employ'd in Place of Trust or Profit in the Government, yet since it must be so, *We hope, Gentlemen, you will be content to take all the Miscarriages of the*

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52 Defoe, *An Enquiry ... Shewing that the Dissenters Are no Way Concern'd*, p. 12.

> *Government on you too* ; we shall acquiesce, let us alone in our Religion, let us Worship God as we believe he has directed us, and all the rest is your own. [53]

For though the pamphlet ends by picturing the Occasional Conformist as one "arrived to a degree of Mastership over his Conscience, so as to subject it to his Interest, and act against Light", who may "Build with one Hand, and Pull Down with another", this repetition of Defoe's original attack is preceded by a fantasy of how Dissenters might separate economically:

> We wonder, Gentlemen, you will accept our Money on your Deficient Funds, our Stocks to help carry on your Wars, our Loans and Credits to your Victualling Office, and Navy Office. [54]

The Dissenters could, then, respond to exclusion with economic force. Defoe's new national order drew on aspects of the Venetian ghetto, perhaps even the Danelaw. Projecting a source of internal disagreement through the theme of responses to the Bill, he constructed the dissenting community as the *Imperium in Imperio* in a vision of imminent collapse, that touches off an abiding eighteenth century concern, "the Tory fear of competing jurisdictions" [55].

Before examining his contribution to the Conformity debate in Anne's reign, I want at this point to note one slightly later attack that suggests how Defoe's overall response can be seen in Machiavellian terms. For Samuel Grascombe, whose 1704 *The Mask of Moderation Pull'd off* voiced the belief that "Occasional Conformity in its very Nature tends to the Corrupting of the *Church* in her *Principles*, and the dissolving the *Power* of her *Government*", attacked how Defoe had defined Anglicanism in his *New Test* of June, 1702, remarking that

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[53] Defoe, *An Enquiry ... Shewing that the Dissenters Are no Way Concern'd*, pp. 16-7.
[54] Defoe, *An Enquiry ... Shewing that the Dissenters Are no Way Concern'd*, p. 29, and p. 18. Looking back on this proposal, *The Consolidator* persona criticized a group of dissenting leaders for not acting on similar advice.
[55] J. A. W. Gunn, *Beyond Liberty and Property: the Process of Self-Recognition in Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Ideas (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), p. 47.

he would only "take Notice of one Passage, which he cites from *Machiavel*" in the later similarly titled *A New Test of the Church of England's Honesty*,

> *That when Men argue about Religion, if one Side cannot Answer, it certainly ends in a Battle.* He subtily slides it in upon his own Account, but it more fully faceth the present Controversy, for which it was doubtless Calculated. [56]

Grascombe's initial point about the sliding of "things to his own Account" referred to how Defoe was revising his relationship with *The Shortest Way*, by depicting himself as an one who forgot that "old Maxim", and had "too little Caution, that he should never clench an Argument so very fast, as not to leave the Adversary one Corner to creep out at ; for they then ... made use of Power ... and supplied the place of an Answer by finding the Author a Lodging in *Newgate*" [57]. The subtle calculation resided, however, in the suggestion that the most recent attempt to pass the Occasional Conformity Bill was tantamount to the replacement of legal argument with violence. Yet another maxim had driven Defoe's initial distortions, when he wrote that "no man can serve One God, and at the same time hold two Opinions. There is but one Best, and he that gives God *two Bests*, gives him the Best and the Worst, and one spoils t'other, till both are good for nothing" [58].

In his *Discourses on Livy*, Machiavelli had stated that "Men generally decide upon a middle course, which is most hazardous; for they know neither to be entirely good or entirely bad" [59]. But if Defoe's approach to Occasional Conformity shifted into a limited acceptance of Moderation, or the middle course, his strategies retained their antagonistic and less than direct character. Thus, reprinting both *Enquiry* tracts with his reply to Howe's *Consideration*

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[56] Grascombe, *The Mask of Moderation Pull'd off the Foul Face of Occasional Conformity* ... (UL/GL: 4116, pp. 3-60, 4°, 1704), pp. 13-4, p. 58.
[57] Defoe, *A New Test of the Church of England's Honesty* (4105.aaa.21, pp. 1-24, 4°, 1704), p. 2; repr. in *SV*, pp. 296-319.
[58] Defoe, *An Enquiry* (1698), pp. 11-2.
[59] Machiavelli cited by Garver, 'Incommensurable Values', p. 192.

on 23 July, 1703, Defoe's *True Collection* also included *The Shortest Way to Peace and Union*, published separately on the same day, a work he claimed to have "compos'd some Years" previously. An Introduction, written whilst "in the Hands of the Law", stated that

> 'I think 'tis time to have done writing ; and if the Spirit of Peace would but 'possess the Minds of Men, there are better Pens and better Heads than 'mine to make the Proposal. [60]

Defoe's steady output of poetry and prose tracts whilst in Newgate made clear that such claims were typical of his double rhetoric. Indeed, this work's appearance outside the *True Collection* made it literally egregious, drawing attention to the way that publication effectively blurs the distinction between writing and not writing. The implicitly ironic stance that Defoe adopts makes sense, then, of how some earlier views blend with more extreme strategies for attacking Dissenters who practice Occasional Conformity. Later in the Introduction, using his faults on both sides approach, he writes

> 'It is not for me to tell our Govevnours [sic] they take wrong Measures 'with the Dissenters; and the Dissenters would be angry if I should tell them 'there is Ill Blood among them ; and some Church Men would think them-'selves injur'd, if I should say they imprudently Encrease it : But I heartily 'wish I could say, all these Three Things were false and idle Chimera's of my 'own.
>
> 'And yet I would be content to be condemn'd to *Newgate* all the Days of 'my Life, if I did not lay down such undeniable Testimonies of the Truth of 'those Heads as should convince all the unbyass'd 'Judgments in the Nation; [61]

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[60] Defoe, *The Shortest Way to Peace and Union. By the Author of the Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (C.122.e.27., pp. 3-26, 4°, 1703), p. 5; repr. in *TC*, pp. 445-70. Henceforth *SWPU*. Defoe's chronology remains vague, yet the high level of contemporary reference makes the suggested period of "four years" (*Life*, p. 128) unlikely. A 'Newgate Introduction' covers 4 of this 1st edn's 24 pages, a further 9 pages (pp. 7-8, p. 11, pp. 19-20, and pp. 23-6), had been written within the last year, whilst another 4 (p. 9, p. 18, pp. 21-2), contained current references.

[61] Defoe, *SWPU*, pp. 5-6.

Echoing the Tenth Commandment's attack on all forms of covetousness, the key term of which had already been deployed against Howe and often repeated, Defoe assumed the moral high ground:

> And I cannot but wonder at, and condemn the Injustice of such Dissenters who would have those People, to whose Communion they cannot, or will not joyn, receive them into equal Advantages of Honour and of Profit, of Trust and Management, in the Politick Concern.
>
> I cannot approve the Equity of it, nor I wou'd not have the Dissenters cover [sic] it, nor had they the Government in their Hands would they admit it themselves. [62]

Reiterating his claim that "Coveting of Offices of Trust, Honour and Profit in the Government, has been the Cause of that Occasional Compliance, which to the Dishonour and Shame of the Dissenters, has branded them with too much Levity in Religion", Defoe returned to the New Testament:

> But in all Professions, and in all Ages, from the Young Man in the Gospel, whose Temptation was, that he had great Possessions, Covetousness and Ambition have been Snares to Religion ; [63]

Defoe's direct citation links this "young man" who "had great possessions" to Matthew, and a similar tale appears in Mark. Luke, however, called the same character a "ruler" [64]. After this, attacking the "Hot destructive Latitude of a Few", Defoe goes on to compare Occasional Conformists with High-Church Anglicans, a move which goes absolutely against the ideological perspectives of Moderation [65]. Asserting that he cannot be "careful of displeasing Parties, if I do it in a direct pursuit of Truth", the central move of this tract is

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[62] Defoe, *SWPU*, p. 10.
[63] Defoe, *SWPU*, p. 10.
[64] *Matthew*, 19. 22; *Luke*, 18. 18; and see *Mark*, 10. 17-27.
[65] Defoe, *SWPU*, p. 10.

Defoe's claim that he must "first turn upon my Frietds [sic] the Dissenters, tho' they may be angry with me," since

> I cannot help laying down this as the first Reason of my Proposition : *viz.* That they are not qualified to be trusted with the Government of themselves. [66]

Defoe's subsequent illustration revolved around the idea that, since the four main dissenting groups identified had different sociopolitical views, "he must be a great deal wiser than I that can guess out of which Party all the other Three could consent to Name a King ; or by which Party all the other Three could consent to be Govern'd" [67]. Having pushed this idea to the point of absurdity, he satirized the language of Dissent: "But God Almighty can qualifie, *says a Dissenter now*, and give a Spirit of Government where he pleases to give a Call to Governing."

> I confess that freely, and therefore it seems to me very plain, that where he has not bestow'd the Spirit of Government, he has not design'd to entrust the Power of it ; and therefore I would advise the Dissenters in *England* not to concern themselves about it, at least while they are not ill Treated, Oppress'd or Persecuted by those who have the Power of Governing. [68]

Given their relative lack of power and mutual dislike, Defoe describes the dissenting groups as "Unanimous" only in a desire "to be govern'd by the Church of *England* Magistracy". Whilst the opposite image of factional tyranny was, of course, quite impractical, these distortions usher in a further conflation of the political and religious realms, in the comment that "the Dissenters having no desire to alter, could have no Advantage to disturb the Government, and consequently

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[66] Defoe, *SWPU*, p. 12.
[67] Defoe, *SWPU*, p. 13.
[68] Defoe, *SWPU*, p. 16.

> could have no Reason to struggle to wind themselves into any Part of the Magistracy, especially being fully satisfy'd, that it was already in the best Hands it could be for the Benefit of the Whole. [69]

On 18 September, 1703, *The Sincerity of the Dissenters Vindicated*, an anonymous tract never reprinted by Defoe, praised Owen's "*Honesty of Principles*", and later "noted a very honest Concession granted by this Author, *that he does not justify such as Conform meerly for a Place, but owns it as a scandalous Practice*" [70]. Using politeness, then, to turn the argument to his own advantage without addressing the debate directly, Defoe foregrounded the subject of persecution by dramatizing the most extreme example of militant martyrdom from the Apocrypha, namely "the young *Maccabees*, and their wonderful Mother", whose sons refused "to eat a Bit of Swines Flesh ... and died, rather than be guilty of *Occasional Conformity*" [71]. Attacking the Moderation Owen represented, Leslie noted this tract's tactics when, without identifying Defoe, he approvingly called *The Sincerity of the Dissenters* author "a *Moderate Dissenter*, I think in the Right sense, because he speaks *Honestly*." Ten pages later, he referred again in sarcastic tones to "the *Honest Dissenter*" [72].

In *Moderation Pursued*, a collection supporting Owen released in late November or early December, 1703, the Author's Epistle aimed mainly at dissenting opponents of Occasional Conformity. Again Defoe wasn't named, yet the implicit challenge began early. "As for the Nonconformist then," the Epistle reflected,

> who is no Independent or Anabaptist, and yet so Stingy in his Judgement, that he cannot come to Church at all, I look on such a one (tho' a sincerely

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69 Defoe, *SWPU*, pp. 17-8.

70 Defoe, *The Sincerity of the Dissenters Vindicated*, (4105.aaa.16, pp. i-ii. 1-27, 4°, 1704), 'Introduction', p. i, p. 4.

71 Defoe, *The Sincerity of the Dissenters*, pp. 22-3. See II. Maccabees, VII. 1-42, in *The Apocryphal and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, intro. and ed. by R. H. Charles and others, Vol. I. Apocrypha (Oxford 1913, repr. 1978), pp. 140-2.

72 Leslie cited in *UBN*, pp. 225-6.

> converted and goodly Man) to be but as yet half instructed, or an almost Protestant ... [73]

Howe had called Defoe 'Stingy' when he criticized his attempt to "represent the Primitive *English* Puritans ... as if they were generally, of your stingy, narrow, Spirit". He'd also introduced into his *Consideration* issues which Defoe, rather nettled, had declared made him seem like an Independent or Anabaptist [74]. Later, paraphrasing *Corinthians*,

> Unto the Jews I became a Jew; to those that are without the Law, as without Law; and to the Weak, as Weak; I am made all Things to all Men, that I might by all Means save some; and this I do for the Gospel's sake, [75]

the Epistle touched on the idea of Christ and his Disciples as occasional crossers of religious boundaries. Whilst Bradford's *A Perswasive to Peace and Unity* had used it to encourage the recently elected dissenting Lord Mayor to strengthen his links with the Established Church, Owen employed the same material in *Moderation a Virtue* to reverse his argument. *Moderation Pursued*'s second essay discussed tracts against Occasional Conformity, but named only Defoe's 1698 *Enquiry*, "which falls severely upon a Certain Lord Mayor at that time, for going to Church in the Morning, and to a Meeting in the Afternoon". His "peculiar Moderation", then, that would "condemn neither the going to Church, or going to the Meeting, but the doing both", was being repeatedly scrutinized:

> It is pity any should mistake this for a double Religion. No, we have but one Religion, one Faith, among the sober Conformist, and Non conformist. ... It is a Presumption of the *Enquirer*, that the only ground of separate Meetings is purity of Worship; and this is the ... Fundamental Error of his Book. The old Nonconformist ... went both to Church, and kept private Meetings, having a good Conscience both in the sight of God, and sight of Men. ...

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[73] *Moderation Pursued, By a Paper written for the Vindicating of our Liturgy and Church* (4105.bb.55, 1704), pp. i-ii.
[74] Howe, *Some Consideration of A Preface*, p. 32.
[75] *Moderation Pursued*, pp. i-ii.

> What their Predecessors then did, the sober Conformists do now, but with the Advantage of *Toleration.* [76]

The purpose behind *Moderation Pursued*'s final allusion to Catholicism can, then, be sensed when the last essay asked "what if it be some deep Diggers for the Church of *Rome*, or *France*, are still the Politicians, that hold on our innocent Churchmen against Comprehension, and for the Sacramental Test? Sure I am"

> I cannot but apprehend *Faux's Dark Lanthorn* to be before their Eyes, who will continue of that mind after all that is here said. It is God alone that knows the Hearts of Men, and what Counsels are at the bottom [77].

Defoe had himself earlier made a standard identification in *The Danger of the Protestant Religion*, when he wrote that "*England* was at the Brink of Ruin, and the Foundation of the *Protestant* Religion stood absolutely undermin'd, the Devil like *Guy Faux* in the Gunpowder Plot, standing with the Dark Lanthorn and Match in his Hand, till the People took such a Fright, as put the Nation into Fits, of which they could never be cur'd till they had spewed out that Generation of Vipers, that would have betray'd their Religion to the *Pope*, and their Country to the *French*" [78]. If a dark lantern (its light controlled by a shutter) suggests a withholding, variation, blindness, disinformation, in 1701, having publicized his authorship of the *Enquiry*, he also released *Legion's Memorial* and attacks such as those considered in Chapter 5 depicted Defoe, whose name was subject to variant spelling, as a devilish agent of Catholic powers. The *Dialogue* he denied stressed business morals and personal valour, presenting him, in early 1703, as a leader of, and trustworthy information source for, the dissenting community. His identification must, then, have raised a few eyebrows:

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[76] *Moderation Pursued*, p. 28.
[77] *Moderation Pursued*, pp. 57-8.
[78] Defoe, *DPR*, in *TC*, pp. 231-2.

> The Author of *the Shortest way* comes with a Lanthorn for you, and he summs up all the black Things this high Party had publish'd, into one General, and if you had any Eyes, you might learn two Things from him, *which he is like to pay dear enough for teaching you.* [79]

Defoe often stressed his own suffering, just as he stressed the sacrifices Dissenters must make for their religious views. To make full sense of the first passage from *Moderation Pursued* it should be noted that, whilst Comprehension and the Test are no less on the agenda, the equation, enforced by Defoe, was the real target:

> You are a Gentleman that suppose Two Sorts of Nonconformists; some, and the most that are so, out of Conscience, and when you say you are against the violation of any Man's Conscience as much as my self, I will believe you in earnest: But there are others you apprehend so upon other accounts, and not out of Conscience. Now you suppose again, that the former are such that upon no Temporal Advantage will be induced to come to Church, because they keep from it out of Conscience: But that the latter will, upon the Occasion of an Office, come to Church, because they make no Conscience of what they do, but seek their Profit. [80]

This view is seen as mistaken, a diversion from fighting the Test, that fundamentally damages Protestant society. It should be possible now to better understand Defoe's strategy, which early on prioritized Dissenters' moral 'hypocrisy', rather than attacking what others more loudly identified as legislative injustice. Falling on both of the *Moderation* pamphlets in its Preface, Leslie's *The Wolf Stript of His Shepherd's Cloathing*, December, 1703 declared that Owen's was "the *Top* and *Chief*" [81]. Later, he named that "Gentleman's new *Collegue*, Mr D'*Foe*" as the author of *The Shortest Way to Peace and Union* and *A Challenge of*

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[79] Defoe, *DDO*, p. 24. Given this text's puns and wordplay, see **lanthorn** ... d. *OED*, Vol. VIII, p. 242; Downie, 'King William's Pamphleteer?', p. 107, cites a manuscript report, BL, Add. MSS 28,094 fols. 165-6, correcting what must have been a common misconception about his nationality.

[80] *Moderation Pursued*, pp. 57-8.

[81] Charles Leslie, *The Wolf Stript of his Shepherd's Cloathing. In Answer to Moderation a Vertue; Wherein the Designs of the Dissenters against the Church: and their Behaviour towards Her Majesty both in England and Scotland are laid open* ... (110.f.32. pp. 3-83. 1-16., 4°, 1704), p. iii, and see p. 75.

Peace, works that came either side of *The Sincerity of the Dissenters Vindicated* [82]. Yet, to group these three texts together whilst complementing a Dissenter's honesty, and thus repeating Defoe's own tactic against Owen, strongly suggests that Leslie had detected his opponent's now double position. For, in *The Sincerity of the Dissenters Vindicated*, having proposed the view that "Protestants do not deny but 'tis possible to be sav'd in the *Roman* Church, and they may, upon occasion therefore Conform in some things, while, at the same time, they reserve their Minds and Hearts entirely to the true Worship", and having cited the standard example of "*Naaman*, the *Syrian*", Defoe retaliated:

> Now let any Man Examine the *Occasional Conformity* of the *Hugonots* in *France*, and tell me, if the Consequence is not very probable to be this, that one Age may make all their posterity *Roman Catholicks, Vicé Versa.*
>
> And what is the Opinion their Brethren, who are in Banishment, have of them. *Come les Persons, qu on Avez Vendue leur Religion*, as Persons that have sold their Religion, People who have Tainted their Principles and testify'd that they cannot part with their Estates to preserve their Consciences. [83]

Published on 23 November, 1703, *A Challenge of Peace* might have seemed to continue the tactics of *The Shortest Way to Peace and Union* in the run up to the second Parliamentary attempt on Occasional Conformity, which also failed by a narrow margin after being sent up to the Lords on December 13, 1703 [84]. Yet, without defending it directly, this work undoubtedly made a survival space for dissenting officials. Presenting an image of Anne's views at odds with the evidence, Defoe praised the "*Low-Church-Men*", defended the Dissenters and, without bringing up the hypocrisy issue, laid into his real object of attack, the High-Churchmen:

> *These are the Gentlemen* who are for Confounding, and not Converting, their Friends the Dissenters, and instead of desiring them to Conform, are

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82 Leslie, *The Wolf Stript*, pp. 60-1.
83 Defoe, *The Sincerity of the Dissenters*, pp. 24-5.
84 See Bennett, *Tory Crisis*, pp. 70-3.

for preventing that Occasional Communion they can comply with in order to keep them out of Places ; so that they had rather keep up the Schism in the Church, than obtain a Union at the Price of their temporal Advancement, discovering a true Christian Spirit, in being *neither willing to let us Dissent, nor Conform.* [85]

At this point, then, Defoe's usual criticism of rich Dissenters' behaviour is placed on hold, whilst that last italicized judgement reverses his better known demand that they must either dissent or conform. Writing later that, when "Peace and moderate Principals possess the Men of Government, the Dissenters were always content, and ever will be pleas'd to have the Power rest in the hands of the Church ; and where this Peace and Moderation is not, I believe all men will grant me that the principal Qualifications for Government are wanting", Defoe again deflected the argument's most contentious points [86].

His subsequent tract, *A Serious Inquiry Into this Grand Question,* nevertheless avoided that point of contradiction by attacking those High Church "Pamphlets and Sermons" which, like his own *Enquiry* tracts once had, still continued to "stigmatize Occasional Conformity, as the Badge of a Hypocrite". Commenting that Dissenters "publickly declar'd" the practice "Lawful in it self", Defoe now argued that "whether *it be or not,* does not seem to be any part of the Dispute" [87]. Thus, although *The Sincerity of the Dissenters* had taken the opposite view, reinforcing an extreme position on the question of persecution, it had enabled him to begin shifting the emphasis away from dissenting morality. Now, reversing the old argument in a slightly different fashion to *A Challenge of Peace,* Defoe stated:

> If any Man is to scruple the Lawfulness of Conformity to the Church, it is the Dissenter, and not the Churchman ; the Conformist cannot pretend

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[85] Defoe, *A Challenge of Peace, Address'd to the Whole Nation. With An Enquiry into Ways and Means for bringing it to pass* (8122.bb.21., pp. i-iv. 1-24, 4°, 1703), pp. 8-9; repr. in *SV*, pp. 220-43.

[86] Defoe, *A Challenge of Peace,* p. 22.

[87] Defoe, *A Serious Inquiry Into this Grand Question; Whether a Law To prevent the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, Would not be Inconsistent with the Act of Toleration, And a Breach of the Queen's Promise* (8132.bb.13. (2.), pp. 3-28, 4°, 1704), pp. 4-5, repr. in *SV*, pp. 320-43. Henceforth *SI.*

> 'tis Unlawful to Conform, he would then become a Dissenter himself : But if the Dissenter not Agreeing in all things, can yet Conform in some, why should he be obliged, as by such a Law he would be, either to Conform wholly, or not Conform at all, and this under a severe Penalty ? [88]

Adopting an apparently neutral standpoint, in which "Occasional Communion is not hereby Condemn'd or Defended", Defoe shifts the discussion of what is either lawful or sinful far from the *Enquiry*. Thus, reflecting on the Test Act, he notes:

> The Act of Parliament which oblig'd the Dissenters to qualify themselves, by taking the Sacrament, must imply, that it was Lawful for them to take it, or else it had been an Unlawful Act in its own Nature ; for a Law Commanding a Sin, is a Contradiction in its self, and no Law, but a Libel : but say some, when we made this Act, 'twas believ'd the Dissenters would not have complied with it, and so have been kept out.
>
> Very good; So, that 'twas a Trick put upon them, presuming upon their scrupulous Consciences ; [89]

From this position, Defoe returns to the common argument that the Bills of 1702 and 1704 were, then, not about regulating religious conformity but simply keeping Dissenters out of places. Yet, having argued that Occasional Conformity was the real sin, and that a Dissenter should choose between a place and employment, the question of compulsion makes such an attitude tacitly inaccurate.

> Total Conformity then being a Sin, in the Opinion of a Dissenter, to Compell him to it, is forcing him to Sin, which is directly against the Scripture. [90]

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[88] Defoe, *SI*, p. 5.
[89] Defoe, *SI*, pp. 7-8.
[90] Defoe, *SI*, p. 8.

Having looked at the some of the New Testament texts traditionally related to debates on religious uniformity and public representation, along with those empowering Defoe's own rhetorical image, it will be worth considering the wider implications of the citation in *A Serious Inquiry.* Noting "that in Matters relating to the manner of Worship, and the different ways of serving the same God ; St. *Peter* has left a Memorable, and most Decisive Precedent in *Acts* 5. 29.", he reflected that

> when they Charg'd them, that they should Preach no more in that Name, that was, the Name of Christ ; they so much the more Proclaim'd the Gospel in all the parts of *Judea.*
>
> 'Tis remarkable in this Place, who it was Charged them ; 'twas the Elders, the High Priests, and the Rulers of the *Jews* ; the Great *Sanhedrim :* 'Twas a Vote of their Parliament, and their Answer was in short, " *'Tis a shame you "should pretend to Countermand what God has Commanded ; no Human Power can "pretend to be Obey'd in such a Case : We desire you to put it to the Vote in plain words, "whether we shall Obey God or You.* [91]

Peter and the other Apostles' reply at the subsequent investigation, "We ought to obey God rather than men", is echoed in the Pharisee Gamaliel's judgement, that "if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God" [92]. The *Serious Inquiry* called the Conformity Bill "*contrary to Humane Policy* ;"

> for in all probability the Posterity of those People, who now conform in part, will be total Conformists ; and to promote a strict total Dissent, by rejecting a partial Conformity, is to shut out the Posterity of those who are shut out now, and consequently lessen all prospect of a General Union, by fixing the *Dissent* of those who would conform, and thereby strengthen the Party, by Encreasing their Numbers. [93]

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[91] Defoe, *SI*, p. 10.
[92] *Acts*, 5. 29, and 33-9.
[93] Defoe, *SI*, p. 22.

Reversing the argument, Defoe's late 1704 letter had proposed "Freedom and favour to The Dissenters", who were called "Divided and Impolitick", as "The Directest Method to Lessen Their Numbers and bring Them at last into the Church" [94]. Yet the Bill's late 1703 failure spurred fresh attacks on the Dissenters, such as Henry Sacheverell's March 1704 Assize sermon, *The Nature and Mischief of Prejudice and Partiality*, whilst Pittis's *Memorial of the Church of England* argued that mere Liberty of Conscience would never content the Dissenters [95]. At the same time, Toland's reply, *The Memorial of the State of England*, supported the various dissenting groups against him with a civic comment that "they can *Tolerate* others according to their private Judgements and the Laws of the Land, without being *lukewarm or indifferent* in their own Faith, which is the common accusation of *Biggots*, against those who are for *Peace and Liberty of Conscience*."

> In the *Distribution of Employments* they chiefly consider the *fitness* of the Person, yet confer no trust on any that is not *qualified by Law*, whatever Opinion they may have of his Fidelity or Merit: but, for the reasons we have alledg'd above, they do not reckon *Occasional Conformity* to be *Hypocrisie*, nor is it dangerous (as was shown) but serviceable both to *Church* and *State*. [96]

Defoe, for his part, responded to Sacheverell in *More Short-Ways with the Dissenters* by "reducing his Discourse to the Article of Prejudice, as it concerns Parties and Interest," and referring

> him back to the Reverend Bishop of *Salisbury*'s Speech in the House of Lords, where he proves 'twas the practice of Queen *Elizabeth*, to admit of Persons of Different Religions into Places of Trust ; if the Case still continu'd the *Test* wou'd cease, and Occasional Conformity dye of course. [97]

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[94] Defoe, 'Letter 15', in *LDH*, p. 54.

[95] Sacheverell, *The Nature and Mischief of Prejudice and Partiality Stated, In a Sermon Preach'd at St. Mary's in Oxford, at the Assizes Held There, March 9th, 170¾.* 2nd Edn (Oxford: 694.k.5.(22)., pp. i-v. 1-57, 4°, 1704); William Pittis, *The Memorial of the Church of England* ... (UL / GL: 4244, pp. 3-56, °4, 1705), p. 19.

[96] Toland, *The Memorial of the State of England* ... (UL / GL: 4257., pp. 1-104, 4°, 1705), p. 63.

[97] Defoe, *More Short-Ways with the Dissenters* (110.g.24., pp. 1-24, 4°, 1704), pp. 9-10; repr. in *SV*, pp. 272-95.

Burnet's Elizabethan example was the Marquis of Winchester, her Lord Treasurer, who "was known to be a Church-Papist, or an *Occasional Conformist* ; and yet he continued in that great Post Fourteen Years, till he died."

> She encouraged the *Occasional Conformity* of Papists, and apprehended no Danger in that, even from them : And yet I hope, it will be acknowledged, that there was more reason to be afraid, considering both their Numbers, and the Hopes they had for many years of a Popish Successor, than we have now to be afraid of the Dissenters. She encouraged Occasional Conformity in the former, and no body was uneasy at it: But the Pope saw what it was like to end in, and therefore he took care to put a Stop to it [98].

Burnet noted that in his "Diocese, those who are Occasional Conformists out of Principle, who come sometimes to Church, and go sometimes to Meetings, are without number ; who yet have no Office, and seem to pretend to none. I confess, I do not desire to press it hard upon them, that they may not do both; lest this, instead of keeping them from Meetings, hinder them from coming to Church."

> I have heard but of One in Office in my Diocese, who goes to Meetings; and that is only to a Weekly Lecture. Therefore since *Occasional Conformity* is only to be blamed when it goes upon an Error and a Mistaken Principle ; I do not see why it should be worse treated than the other Errors that are now tolerated ; for 'tis that of all the other Errors, which has done the greatest Service to the Church. [99]

Looking outside England, in *Party-Tyranny* Defoe wrote of Carolina's anti-Dissenter exclusion Act of 6 May, 1704, that "the Design of Occasional Bills in general" was "not to prevent Hypocrisy, but to plunder and destroy their Neighbours; and that any Man may

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98 Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, *The Bishop of Salisbury's Speech in the House of Lords, upon the Bill against Occasional Conformity* (698.i.35., pp. 1-8, 4°, 1704), p. 2.
99 Burnet, *The Bishop of Salisbury's Speech*, p. 7.

come into the Administration, let his Manners be never so Corrupt, and that provided he be not tainted with the Sin of defending his Liberty, nor with the Scandal of being a Man of Conscience, he is own'd fit to be a Member of this Society" [100]. Continuing this aggressive style, *The Dissenter Misrepresented and Represented* repeated Defoe's argument that, "If then the Fact be not sinful in it self (tho' I do not grant that neither) and *if it be but a Very Few of the Dissenters* practis'd it: Pray, Gentlemen of the Pulpit, Where is your Honesty, your Justice, your Charity, to punish a Party for the Misdoings of a Few" [101]? Later on, Defoe returned to another old tactic:

> When your Clergy are less Vitious, your Magistrates less Prophane, your Statesmen Honest, your Officers faithful, then we'll be content to be Censur'd for Occasional Conformity. [102]

Tracing the ambivalences in Defoe's treatment of Occasional Conformity's social and religious implications thus reveals that, behind the variations in emphasis, his most constant strategies depended on using figures of contradiction and opposition. These might sometimes, as in the example above, lead into figures of suspension or stasis. Whilst the fantasy of a united dissenting body is occasionally used for purposes that are at once both aggressive and defensive, Defoe's prevalent image is on of fragmentation and disorder, which is to impose a negative reading onto what were always discrete entities. The sadomasochistic work of the death drive, as symbolized by the external dynamic of persecution is, however, most apparent when described as the Dissenter's 'freedom' to choose between forms of suffering.

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[100] Defoe, *Party-Tyranny: Or, An Occasional Bill in Miniature; As now Practiced In Carolina Humbly offered to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament* (T.1666. (6), pp. 1-30, 4°, 1705), pp. 25-9.
[101] Defoe *The Dissenter Misrepresented and Represented* (1704), repr. in *SV*, pp. 344-63, (p. 348).
[102] Defoe *The Dissenter Misrepresented*, p. 351.

7. Lunar Language

Lacan implied that the ego would act as if there were no limits, pushing off into outer space on the strength of its imperative to expand. [1]

The Consolidator; or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon, published on 26 March, 1705, moved its psychic space 'into outer space' as part of an expansionist paradigm. If its contradictory narrator has little in common with Freud's stabilizing ego, David Russen's 1702 *Iter Lunare: or a Voyage to the Moon* had resonance for Defoe's later journey when, contrasting "*Prometheus* ascending to the Sun" with attempts to reach "the Loop-hole of Heaven", it suggested "we may not unrightly conjecture," how

> Divine Providence hath laid in our way those Impediments, which though they cannot hinder our Contemplations from ascending, yet oppose our corporeal Conveyance thither, he having debarr'd us from bodily conversing with those supposed Inhabitants. [2]

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[1] Epigraph: Brennan, *History After Lacan*, p. 3.

[2] David Russen, of Hythe, *Iter Lunare: or a Voyage to the Moon. Containing Some Considerations on the Nature of that Planet* ... Preface dated "20 March, 1702" (1081.d.9, pp. i-iii. 1-150, 1703; repr. 1081.d.10, 1707), pp. 6-8, pp. 16-7; and see **loophole**, in *OED*, Vol. IX, p. 14.

If any attempt to visit the moon was, then, at some level a going against 'Divine Providence', Bishop Wilkins's *Discovery of a New World* had already made the parallel with colonial expansion. "We have not now any *Drake*, or *Columbus* to undertake this Voyage," his narrator reflected in 1640, "or any *Daedalus* to Invent a Conveyance through the Air" to reach "the People of the New World". Yet he went on to quote "the opinion of *Keplar*, that as soon as the art of Flying is Found out, some of their Nation will make one of the first Colonies, that shall Transplant into that other World." The "strangeness of the Persons, Language, Art, Policy, Religion of those Inhabitants, together with the new Traffick that might be brought thence" would, wrote Wilkins, be "inconceivably beyond ... the pleasure and profit of those later Discoveries in *America*" [3]. Prioritizing his own inventiveness, Defoe repeated few of Wilkins's suggestions directly. Yet the theme of 'new Traffick' bringing 'pleasure and profit' is central to the initial discussions of Russia and China which, in common with *The Consolidator* as a whole, celebrate certain kinds of order whilst, at the same time, producing a number of punitive fantasies that express an anxious dislike, or fear, of division or separation. John Fransham's comment to Defoe, that he had "follow'd the Heels of Truth so close ... that the danger of a kick gave some pain to [me]", thus suggests how the inflicting of pain in various forms, and its inseparability from the drive towards profit and pleasure, is the theme which binds the text's larger struggle between the life and death drives [4].

In addition to Wilkins, certain parallels suggest the influence of a writer Chapter 5 introduced. For if Mead's argument, that Ezekiel's wheels being *"full of Eyes round about"* showed how "All things are directed by an infinite wisdom", is relevant to *The Consolidator*'s dominant visual metaphor, so his reminder, that neither they nor the "Earth" were

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[3] John Wilkins, Bp of Chester, *A Discovery of a New World, or, A Discourse Tending to prove, that 'tis Probable there may be another Habitable World in the Moon* ... 5th edn (London Library copy, 1640), pp. 135-8, p. 160. Henceforth *DNW*.

[4] John Fransham cited in *Life*, p. 179.

"Material ... but Visional", creates a critical perspective. Further, finding the Glorious Revolution "*fit for a Quill plucked from the* Wing *of one of the living* Creatures *in this Vision*", he noted that "*No* Wheels *could have brought* such *a Salvation, had not*" Zechariah's "Chariot *come from* between the Mountains of Brass" [5]. Thus, whilst Defoe's "Engine formed in the shape of a Chariot, on the Backs of two vast Bodies with extended Wings ... compos'd of Feathers so nicely put together, that no Air could pass", echoed an Old Testament visionary text that served ideological ends, Mead himself had commented that "it is usual with the Spirit of God to resemble the World to things that are in their nature most mutable", such as "the *Moon*, which is never found long in the same figure ; sometimes increasing, sometimes full, then decreasing, and then increasing again ; such is this world, and therefore fitly resembled to the Moon" [6].

Drawing on the *fort / da* model, Kristeva argued that "writing requires of the subject ... the double motion of adhesion and of distancing wherein he curbs his desire for the signifier through the sanction of a code"—which Mead's paradigm may, in this case, have supplied for Defoe—that is "itself dictated by an (utopian ?) ethics". This reading of *The Consolidator* examines, then, to what extent he is able to "insert within society a practice that it censors; to communicate what it cannot understand or hear", and thus in places to "reconstitute the cohesion and harmony of a social discourse, inherently ruptured" [7]. Briefly noting Mead's influence once more, then, Defoe reads the wheels within wheels paradigm onto a number of incidents, such as his description of the attempts to pass an Occasional Conformity Bill during Anne's reign, which concluded:

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[5] Mead, *Vision of the Wheels*, p. 29, p. 43, 'The Epistle Dedicatory', pp. ii-iii; see *Zechariah*, 6. 1.

[6] Defoe, *The Consolidator; or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon. Translated from the Lunar Language, By the Author of The True-born Englishman* (G. 13507, pp. 1-360, 1705), pp. 64-5. Henceforth *CTM*, repr. in *CEW*, pp. 263-433; Mead, *Vision of the Wheels*, p. 18.

[7] Kristeva, 'How does one speak to literature?', in *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, trans. by Tom Gora, Alice Jardine, and Leon S. Roudiez, ed. with an intro. (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1980), pp. 92-123, (p. 94).

> Thus the *fatal Errors of Men* have their advantages, the seperate [sic] ends they serve are not foreseen by their Authors, and they *do good* against the very *Design of the People*, and the nature of the Evil it self. [8]

Equating this lack of foresight with what is also a lack of insight into the workings of Providence, Defoe thus constructs an interpretation of society as a partially censored text, into which both individuals and groups insert unconscious readings. Though the reversibility of such death driven actions remains unpredictable, given these actions intertwining with the life drives, they nevertheless also have the capacity to harmonize society's ruptured discourse.

At this point, I want to argue that a psychoanalytic approach to the moon's general symbolic status makes further sense of *The Consolidator*'s specular identifications. "In some contexts", states the *Oxford English Dictionary*, it is "regarded as a passive overseer or witness to (the actions of) humankind; in others, a type of something extravagant or unattainable" [9]. If, then, a milder version of Russen's image is still present in the latter aspect of the moon's double status, the former description resembles Freud's "special psychical agency which performs the task of seeing that narcissistic satisfaction from the ego ideal is ensured and which, with this end in view, constantly watches the actual ego, and measures it by that ideal." If "our 'conscience' has the required characteristics", this agency's workings produce "the so-called 'delusions of being noticed' or more correctly, of being *watched*, which are such striking symptoms in the paranoid diseases and which may also occur as an isolated form of illness, or intercalated in a transference neurosis". Continuing to ask "what prompted the subject to form an ego ideal, on whose behalf his conscience acts as watchman", Freud located "the critical influence of his parents" and, later on, "those who

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[8] Defoe, *CTM*, p. 236.

[9] **moon**, *OED*, Vol. IX, pp. 1050-3, (p. 1050).

trained and taught him, and the innumerable and indefinable host of ... his fellow-men - and public opinion" [10]. This definition may seem rather too inclusive, nevertheless it emphasizes the crucial role of specular identification in the ego ideal's construction as an ongoing, and always potentially paranoid, social process.

If the earth and moon remain, in many ways, "interchangeable", the equally important application of Wilkins' conceit to individual identity also suggests how the claim, that Defoe "peoples the lunar world simply for satiric purposes", needs expansion [11]. Indeed, in case the link between narrator and China is forgotten, when the scene shifts to the moon it is a possible sighting of this land which solves the dispute with the lunar philosopher about which planet should be deemed the world, and which its moon. Reconciling "this Jangle was very hard, till at last this Demonstration happen'd, the Moon as he call'd it, turning her blind-side upon us three Days after the Change, by which, with the help of his extraordinary Glasses, I that knew the Country,"

> perceived that side the Sun lookt upon was *all Moon*, and the other was *all World* ; and either I fancy'd I saw or else really saw all the lofty Towers of the Immense Cities of *China* : Upon this, and a little more Debate, we came to this Conclusion, and there the Old Man and I agreed, That they were *both Moons* and *both Worlds*, this *a Moon* to that, and that *a Moon* to this, like the Sun between two Looking-Glasses, and shone upon one another by Reflection, according to the oblique or direct Position of each other. [12]

The lunar philosopher represents certain aspects of Defoe's own identity, a parallel reinforced by the narrator's later comment that "*he was no Philosopher, but the very*" author of

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[10] Freud, 'On Narcissism', pp. 95-6.
[11] Shaw, 'Ancients and Moderns', pp. 398-9.
[12] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 64-5.

"*The shortest way with the Crolians*". Yet, since Defoe was then about 44, the description of "old" more accurately fits the real philosopher, Isaac Newton, whose work on light since the 1670s provides some metaphoric possibilities, and who had written that "short-sighted Men see remote Objects best in Old Age, and therefore they are accounted to have the most lasting Eyes" [13].

At the front of his *Opticks*, Newton declared that he had "here Published" what he thought "proper to come abroad, wishing that it may not be Translated into another Language without my Consent" [14]. Defoe, as author of *The True-Born Englishman*, by contrast oversaw a feigned translation from the Lunar Language, whilst his consolidating narrator 'translated' from the Chinese, a cultural achievement to surpass Wilkins. That double strategy of comic self-authorization makes better sense of disparate material held together by an authorial voice that experiences its own dispersal. For, just as the *Opticks* tailed off "into a series of Queries", *The Consolidator* ends on a series of fake books [15].

The Freudian implications of the visual metaphor are notable in a description of those who "pretended" to be able "to see the common Periods of Life" with "Second-sight Glasses". If the pun on period, hinting at "periodic recurrence", more obviously suggests an analogy between the life of writing and writing of life, the discussion switches almost immediately to death as the limit point, since "Others said, they could see a great way beyond *the leap in the Dark*" [16].

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[13] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 212-3; Isaac Newton, *Opticks: Or, a Treatise of the Reflexions, Refractions, Inflexions and Colours of Light* ... (1651/1139, 1704), p. 11.

[14] Newton, *Opticks*, 'Advertisement', (n.p.); *CTM*, TP.

[15] A. Rupert Hall, *All Was Light, An Introduction to Newton's Opticks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 2.

[16] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 89; see **period**, *OED*, Vol. XI, p. 558, "a. Gr. περιοδοσ going round, way round, circuit, revolution, cycle of years, periodic recurrence, course, recurring fit of disease, orbit of a heavenly body, rounded sentence".

> ... As to seeing *beyond Death*, all the Glasses I lookt into for that purpose, *made but little of it* ; and these were the only *Tubes* that I found Defective ; ... but revolving in my Mind, that I had read a certain Book in our own Country, called, Nature ; it presently occur'd, That the conclusion of it, to all such as gave themselves the trouble of making out those foolish things call'd Inferences, was always Look up ; upon which, turning one of their Glasses *Up*, and erecting the Point of it towards the *Zenith*, I saw these Words in the Air, REVELATION, in large Capital Letters.
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> I had like to have rais'd the Mob upon me for looking *upright* with this Glass ; for this, they said, was prying into the Mysteries of the Great *Eye* of the World ; That we ought to enquire no farther than he has inform'd us, and *to believe* what he had left us *more Obscure :* Upon this, I laid down the Glasses ... [17]

Reading messages in the sky seems closer to the political and religious outlook of the Fifth Monarchists, yet to do so through a telescope suggests something rather different and, as A. Rupert Hall comments, if "the principle of such an instrument had been known for a generation or more", it was "[t]he construction of a reflecting telescope, albeit on the smallest scale," that "first brought fame to Newton" [18].

Further, whilst almost meeting the full force of a paranoid group reaction, the Defoean narrator's act of sacrilege contains a hidden irony when, having 'laid down the Glasses' he concludes "that we had Moses and the Prophets, and should be never the likelier to be taught by *One come from the* Moon" [19]. For, noting that "*Tostatus* thinks that the Body of *Enoch* was kept there; and some of the Fathers, as *Tertullian* and *Austin* have affirmed, that

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[17] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 89-91.
[18] Hall, *All was Light*, p. 5.
[19] Defoe, *CTM*, p. 91.

the blessed Souls were reserv'd in that place till the day of Judgement," Wilkins continued to mix the sacred with the absurd, arguing that "Any diligent peruser ... of the Fathers,"

> may easily observe how they do generally interpret the Paradise whereto Saint *Paul* was wrapt, and that wherein our Saviour promised the Thief should be with him, to be locally the same where our first Parents were banished. Now there cannot be any place on Earth design'd where this should be: and therefore 'tis not altogether improbable that it was in this other World. [20]

Whilst Nature, Science, and Reason are said by Defoe's narrator to have "obtained great Improvements" on the moon, Religion for its part remains "equally resign'd to and concluded in *Faith* and *Redemption*" [21]. Thus, searching for "Second Thoughts" on "the Being, Nature, and Scituation of *humane Soul*" produces no "Books, whether of their own Composition or by Translation; for it was a General received Notion, That there could not be a greater Absurdity in humane Knowledge, than to imploy the Thoughts in Questioning, what is as plainly known by its Consequences, as if seen with *the Eye*; and that to doubt the Being or Extent of the Soul's Operation, is to *imploy her against her self*;"

> and therefore, when I began to argue with my Old Philosopher, against the Materiality and Immortality of this Mystery we call *Soul, he laught at me*, and told me ... that the *Great Eye* being one vast Intellect, *Infinite* and *Eternal*, all *Inferior Life* is a Degree of *himself*, and as exactly represents him as one little *Flame* the whole Mass of *Fire* ; [22]

This metaphoric fire, "uncapable of Dissolution, being like its Original in Duration, as well as in its Powers and Faculties, but that it goes and returns by *Emission*, *Regression*, as the *Great*

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[20] Wilkins, *DNW*, p. 134.
[21] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 90-1.
[22] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 94-5.

Eye governs and determines", is made ludicrous, however, by being described as "*darkened* by Ignorance, Folly and Crime, and therefore oblig'd *to wear Spectacles*" [23].

Thus, with the earlier statement about the quality of old men's eyesight in mind, the lunar philosopher's age takes on increased relevance. For the narrator's double helps to pinpoint the Newtonian connection between dreaming, phantasy and physical vision, in 'Prop. VII. Theor. V' of the *Opticks*, which concerns "Colours so far as they arise from Light."

> For they appear sometimes by other Causes, as when by the power of phantasy we see Colours in a Dream, or a mad Man see things before him which are not there ; or when we see Fire by striking the Eye, or see Colours like the Eye of a Peacock's Feather, by pressing our Eyes in either corner whilst we look the other way. [24]

Newton's experiments with multiple prisms also seem to echo through an earlier point, where the narrator satirizes those "People who we falsly call *Politicians*, affecting so much to put out *this Great Eye*, by acting against their common Understandings," who "are very aptly represented by *a great Eye, with Six or Seven pair of Spectacles on* ;"

> not but that the Eye of their Souls may be clear enough of it self, as to the common Understanding ; but that they happen to have occasion to look sometimes *so many ways at once*, and to judge, conclude, and understand *so many contrary ways* upon one and the same thing ; that they are fain to put double Glasses upon their Understanding, as we look at the *Solar Eclipses*, to represent 'em in *different Lights*, least *their Judgments* should not *be wheadled* into a Compliance with the *Hellish Resolutions of their Wills* ; and this is what I call the Emblematick Representation of the Soul. [25]

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[23] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 94-5.
[24] Newton, *Opticks*, Bk I. Pt. 2, p. 120.
[25] Defoe, *CTM*, p. 92.

After the intial dispute about the status of their respective planets is resolved, then, Defoe's lunar traveller writes that "never was there such a Couple of People met; he was the *Man in the Moon* to me, and I *the Man in the Moon* to him." If *The Consolidator*'s two foregrounded identities are, to some extent doubles, this alterity also marks a process of authorial empowerment. Yet the relationship hinges on a temporal contradiction, for the Lunarian "wrote down all I said, and made a Book of it, and call'd it,"

> *News from the World in the* Moon ; and all the Town is like to see *my Minutes* under the same Title ; nay, and I have been told, he published some such bold Truths there, from the Allegorical Relations he had of me from our World : That he was call'd before the Publick Authority, who could not bear the just Reflections of his *damn'd Satyrical way of Writing* ...

At one level a retelling of Defoe's own experiences, this passage closes with the reflection that all "this happen'd before my first Visit to that World" [26]. This temporal distortion is partly explained when, much later, *The Consolidator* also refers to the pre-Platonic concept of eternal return that Nietzsche later used to combat historicism's negation of the Ancients and Moderns debate. Defoe's narrator "cannot account for ... any Analogy or Similitude between the Transactions of either World" [...].

> And yet sometimes he has thought, as some People Fable of the Platonick Year, that after such a certain Revolution of Time, all Things are Transacted over again, and the same People live again, are the same Fools, Knaves, Philosophers and Mad-men they were before, tho' without any Knowledge of, or Retrospect to what they acted before ; so why should

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[26] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 68-9; for John Harris, Newton's first popularizer, see Shaw, 'Ancients and Moderns', pp. 392-3; yet, also see Hall, *All Was Light*, p. 217, who notes that the *Lexicon Technicum* (Vol. I) was "in the press when *Opticks* appeared", and its article on LIGHT shows "rather slight trace of Newton, the argument that it is a substance being taken from William Molyneux's *Dioptrica nova* (1692)".

> it be impossible, that as the Moon and this World are noted before to be Twins and Sisters, equal in Motion and in Influence, and perhaps in Qualities, the same secret Power should so act them, as that *like* Actions and Circumstances should happen in all Parts of both Worlds at the same time. [27]

The Consolidator identifies both a text and the machine which makes the lunar trip. At the same time, this double word also undergoes an antithetical turn. For, if consolidation has generally positive connotations to do with increased stability, contemporary associations hint at the failure of extremism. Thus, whilst *A Letter from a Member of Parliament to his Friend in the Country* wrote that "there was no way to pass" the Occasional Conformity Bill, "but by Consolidating the same with the Land Tax", Defoe's own 1705 poem, *The Double Welcome*, enquired "how can high *non jurant* L------ rail, / When strong *Consolidating Projects* fail" [28]. Largely a dialogue with past events, the work's satiric agenda also permits Defoe's narrator to rewrite history. For, referring to William's relations with Parliament, he writes:

> No sooner was this Prince plac'd on the Throne, but according to his Promises to them that invited him over, he conven'd the Estates of the Realm, and giving them free Liberty to *make*, *alter*, *add* or *repeal*, all such Laws as they thought fit, it must be *their own fault* if they did not Establish themselves upon such Foundation of *Liberty*, and *Right*, as they desir'd ; for he gave them their *full Swing*, never interpos'd *one Negative* upon them for several Years, and let them do almost every thing they pleas'd. [29]

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[27] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 337-8.
[28] *A Letter from a Member of Parliament to his Friend in the Country* ... 2nd edn (1493.w.3, 4°, 1705), p. 2; Defoe, *The Double Welcome: A Poem to the Duke of Marlbro'* (164. m. 36, pp. 30, 4°, 1705), p. 28, and see p. 19.
[29] Defoe, *CTM*, p. 190.

At the time, however, William was widely believed to be dissatisfied with the Heads of Grievances accompanying the Declaration of Rights and, as Robert Frankle has noted, took no interest in altering such beliefs till after the original settlement had been "drastically modified" [30]. Against the narrator's claim, that he "never interpos'd *one Negative* upon them for several Years," should first be set the fact that, only months after being crowned, William considered vetoing the relatively innocuous bill which aimed to give the Declaration statutory authority [31]. In addition, having earlier referred to the government's reconstruction after James II left England, the narrator remarked how the Consolidator "Engine has been very accurately Re-built and finish'd ; and the People are now oblig'd by a Law,"

> to send up new Feathers every three Years, to prevent the Mischiefs which happen'd by that Prince aforesaid, keeping one Set so long that it was dangerous to venture with them ; and thus the Engine is preserved fit for use. [32]

Yet, having vetoed the Independent Judges Bill of 1691, William went on to veto the 1693 Triennial Bill, which sought to introduce reforms deleted from the Declaration, and opposed several others [33].

The elements of repetition that are part of rewriting history suggest a symptomatic fantasy when the narrator reverts to a proposal for the Dissenters to join together so as to gain an economic stranglehold on England that Defoe's 1702 *Enquiry into Occasional Conformity* had presented in slightly different terms. *The Consolidator* argues that, by following this scheme,

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30 Robert J. Frankle, 'The Formulation of the Declaration of Rights', *HJ*, 17:2 (1974), 265-79, (p. 278).
31 Frankle, 'Formulation', p. 278.
32 Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 44-5.
33 Frankle, 'Formulation', p. 278.

> they might ha' been every way as Safe, as Considerable, as Regarded and as Numerous as the *Crolians* in the *Moon* ; but it is not in their Souls to do themselves Good, nor to Espouse, or Stand by those that would do it for them ; and 'tis well for the Church-Men that it is so, for many Attempts have been made to save them, but their own narrowness of Soul, and dividedness in Interest has always prevented its being effectual, and discoutag'd [*sic*] all the Instruments that ever attempted to serve them.

Yet their failure to unite, and so actualize this extreme fantasy, is overseen by the comment: "*Well, said I*, 'tis happy for *England* that our *Dissenters* have not this Spirit of *Union*, and Largeness of Heart among them " [34]. If Defoe's sarcastic use of 'narrowness' seems to hold righteous and narrow ways responsible for 'dividedness', the inconstantly deferred myth of unity is projected as a group weakness. Dollimore's assertion that "dissidence may not only be repressed by the dominant (coercively and ideologically), but in a sense actually produced by it, hence consolidating the powers which it ostensibly challenges", thus supports the notion of Defoe's subversion as, in this instance, a merely rhetorical procedure [35]. The moon, however, facilitates a fantasy of the Dissenters behaving as ordered:

> The Philosopher, *or pretended-such as before*, had often publish'd, that *it was their Interest to* UNITE ; but their Eyes not being open to the true Causes and Necessity of it, their Ears were shut against the Council, *till Oppress-ion and Necessities drove them to it.*
>
> Accordingly they entred into a serious Debate, of the State of their own Affairs, and finding the Advice given, very reasonable ; they set about it, and the Author gave them a Model, Entitl'd *An enquiry into what the Crolians may lawfully do,*

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[34] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 270-1; for contrasting views, see *Life*, p. 146; Sutherland, *Defoe*, p. 143.
[35] Dollimore, *Dissidence*, pp. 26-7.

> *to prevent the certain Ruin of their Interest, and bring their enemies to Peace.* [36]

If Defoe's *The Experiment* had recently publicized the story of Abraham Gill, a dissenting minister imprisoned for political reasons and then drafted into the army, the narrator holds to a pro-military line with the comment that this "*Crolian Priest*" found more Mercy from the *Men of the Sword*, than from those *of the Word*" [37]. A more ambivalent attitude to the military establishment accompanies the discussion of current English and Scottish antipathies, when he notes that, though some were proposing to unite the north by force, "Another sort of Wiser Men than these, propos'd to Unite with them, hear their Reasons, and do them Right. These indeed were the only Men that were in the right Method of concluding this unhappy Broil, and for that Reason, were the most unlikely to succeed" [38].

This situation was made "more confus'd," since "the Souldiers had generally no gust to this War." Yet "those sort of Gentlemen, especially *in the World in the Moon*, don't use to enquire into the Justice of the Case they Fight for, but they reckon 'tis their Business to go where they are sent, and kill any Body they are order'd to kill, leaving their Governors to answer for the Justice of it". And though "the Northern Men call'd it fear," these "*Men of the Sword* ... always talk't coldly of the fighting Part" purely because "*there was nothing to be got by it*,"

> that People were *Brave*, *Desperate* and *Poor*, the Country *Barren*, Mountainous and *Empty*, so that in short there would be nothing but Blows, and *Souldiers Fellows* to be had, and I always observ'd that Souldiers never care to be knockt on the Head, and get nothing by the Bargain. [39]

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[36] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 272-3.

[37] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 240-4, (p. 242); and see Defoe, *The Experiment: Or, the Shortest Way with the Dissenters Exemplified* (1705).

[38] Defoe, *CTM*, p. 342.

[39] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 342-4.

This distorted explanation for the northern country's freedom from invasion adds insult to injury, erasing the constitutional or legal aspects of Anglo-Scottish relations in much the same way that *The Shortest Way* had done when proposing force as a final solution. Nevertheless, this position is consistent with the praise that Defoe's narrator initially heaps on the military and social achievements of governmental systems that verge on totalitarianism which, as Lefort argued, "tends to weld power and society together again, to efface all signs of social division" and "indetermination". If Russia and China are both ruled by autocrats who have, in different ways, adapted the democratic "idea of the People-as-One, the idea of society as such, bearing the knowledge of itself, transparent to itself and homogeneous, the idea of mass opinion, sovereign and normative," and "the tutelary state", Defoe's analysis will be seen to highlight how these countries refashion the death drive, which Lefort concluded was unleashed by the collapse of monarchical society [40].

Before going on, however, I want to consider the theme which arguably connects these locations with *The Consolidator*'s portrayal of poetry's disordering influence. Defoe's narrator ends his discussion with the lunar discovery of "*a Muse calcin'd*,"

> a little of the Powder of which given to a Woman big with Child, if it be a Boy it will be a Poet, if a Girl she'll be a Whore, if an Hermaphrodite it will be Lunatick. [41]

If this image, whilst denying an equal exchange of possible outcomes, suggests an analogy between poetry and prostitution, the third term produces the most literal relationship between the powder's source and its effects. Sexual union in one body may also figuratively describe instances of self-cancelling contradiction, rather than positive agreement and unity, as when Davenant characterized an Occasional Conformist's "Conscience" as "like a *Vagina*

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[40] Lefort, 'The Image of the Body and Totalitarianism', pp. 305-6.
[41] Defoe, *CTM*, p. 31.

Uteri, the more 'tis us'd, the more strait lac'd it grows. *Oedipus* himself, were he alive, cou'd never unriddle him. ... He is of several Churches, but of no Religion, as we say of *Hermaphrodites*, that being of both Sexes, they are of none" [42]. At the same time, *The Consolidator*'s image of the hermaphrodite as being closest to madness can also be treated as an attempt to revise the implications of a previous equation. Since, whilst being a 'Whore' is not treated as a form of lunacy as such but as resulting from the influence of the 'Muse', the narrator had earlier linked men and poetry to mental instability through the figure of wit. Thus, Defoe's narrator asserts, "there are some particular Vessels Nature thinks necessary,"

> to the more exact Composition of this nice thing call'd a *Wit*, which as they are, or are not Interrupted in the peculiar Offices for which they are appointed, are subject to various Distempers, and more particularly to Effluxions and Vapours, *Diliriums* Giddiness of the Brain, and *Lapsæ*, or *Looseness of the Tongue* ; [43]

Commenting on "these Distempers" and the not easily avoidable "Disasters which generally they push the Animal into", the narrator introduces "disobliging Parents, who have frequently in this Country whipt their *Sons* for making Verses". Though such beatings may be found 'disobliging' by the recipient, the practice is not further criticized but, in an immediate reversal, suggested instead as a public good:

> and here I could not but reflect how useful a Discipline early Correction must be to a Poet ; and how easy the Town had been had *N---t*, *E---w*, *T. B--- P---s*, *D--- S--- D---fy*, and an Hundred more of the jingling Train of our modern Rhymers, been Whipt young, *very young*, for Poetasting, they had never

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[42] Davenant, *The True Picture of a Modern Whig Reviv'd. Set forth in a Third Dialogue Between Whiglove and Double, at Tom's Coffee-House in Covent-Garden* (800.d.16. (4), pp. 5-72, 4°, 1707), pp. 46-7.
[43] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 23-4.

> perhaps suckt in that Venome of Ribaldry, which all the Satyr of the Age has never been able to scourge out of them to this Day. [44]

If the death drive finds expression in any number of internalized and externalized forms of aggression, the pleasure Defoe's narrator takes in detailing how beating those with a poetic inclination, when "young, *very young*", would have eased "the Town", marks this imagined scene as a sadomasochistic fantasy. Words like "*Lapsae*" and "*Looseness*" suggest the unconscious, but in this case wit's "various Distempers", which are said to depend on "whether particular Vessels ... are or are not Interrupted", may be grouped together more generally as instances of uncontrollable excess. Whilst, then, Defoe the satiric poet oversees the text like a parent, his speaker, though never himself linked with poetry, echoes the theme of internal compulsion in his comment "I could not but reflect". Freud's discussion of the fantasy in which a child is beaten, or watches another child being beaten, by a parental figure, has links with the death drive thesis he published the next year. In this context, Laplanche has evaluated the inability to halt reflection "*in the very movement of fantasmatization*" in these terms:

> To shift to the reflexive is not only or even necessarily to give a reflexive content to the sentence of the fantasy; it is also and above all to reflect the action, internalize it, make it enter into oneself as fantasy. To fantasize aggression is to turn it round upon oneself, to aggress oneself: such is the moment of autoeroticism, in which the indissoluble bond between fantasy as such, sexuality, and the unconscious is confirmed. [45]

In Freud's own assessment, the first phase of the fantasy describes the beating of another, hated, child, whose punishment "gratifies the child's jealousy and is dependent upon the

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[44] Defoe, *CTM*, p. 24.
[45] Laplanche, *Life and Death*, p. 102.

erotic side of his life, but is also powerfully reinforced by the child's egoistic interests" [46]. If beating the ribaldry out of minor poets, who were in some way his own hated rivals, locates this fantasy's first phase, Defoe's position as poetic scourge creates that parental identification which makes him at once both an active agent and a passive onlooker. Leaving aside the temporal distortion which results from such links, and which has been shown to be present elsewhere in *The Consolidator* at certain crucial identificatory moments, it may be noted that, despite a fugitive piece such as *The Jubilee Necklace* of 1704, which combines sexual desire and male fantasies of aggressive invasion, Defoe's comments about his own poetic stance do not acknowledge such ribaldry [47]. What, then, at first appears to be a fantasy of externalized aggression reveals itself as, secondarily, a confession of what Freud describes as the second phase of the fantasy, 'I am being beaten by my father'.

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[46] Freud, "A Child is Being Beaten': A Contribution to the Study of the Origin of the Sexual Perversions' (1919), trans. by A. and J. Strachey (*SE* 17, 1955), 175-204, (p. 187).
[47] See Kennedy, '*The Jubilee Necklace*'.

Russia

The Consolidator starts out fiercely from Russia, or Muscovy. Until Peter the Great visited Europe at the end of the century, staying in England in 1698, readers had few more current reference points than *The Present State of Russia* (1671), by Czar Alexis's physician, Samuel Collins, who ended his political discussion with the comment that "The *Russes* ... think no Nation superior ; for they are never good natur'd but when they are either beaten or brib'd. No master (to them) like *Mars* nor mistris like *Luna*, these indeed are the only Planets, which rule the world" [48]. The moon, then, could influence the Czar's famously warlike subjects. Stressing the separation of author and narrator helps to foreground rhetoric's work, and *Jure Divino*'s Preface seems more likely to reflect Defoe's own attitude:

> I own I am none of Issachar's asses, nor should I be willing to be governed by the Czar of Muscovy ; I don't think, if a king wanted to walk across a dirty highway, his majesty might command twenty or thirty of heads of his followers to be cut off to make steppings for him, that he might not dirty his sacred shoes. [49]

If *The Consolidator*'s positive treatment of Peter's achievements introduces themes of military violence and egoistic expansion, greeting readers like an 'objective' contemporary historian creates a sense of surprise since the title page had suggested a journey to the moon rather than a travel book, fictional or otherwise. The text's dominant mode of allegorized recollection is, then, at this stage submerged beneath the repetition of current views, between which increasingly unrealistic or fabulous statements are inserted:

> IT Cannot be unknown to any that have travell'd into the Dominions of the Czar of *Muscovy*, that this famous rising

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[48] Samuel Collins, Physician to the Czar of Russia, *The Present State of Russia, In a Letter to a Friend at London; Written by an Eminent Person residing at the Great Tzars Court at Mosco for the space of nine years. Illustrated with many Copper Plates* (G. 15147, pp. i-xx. 1-141. i-x, 8°, 1671), pp. 130-1.

[49] Defoe, *JD*, 'Preface', p. iii.

> Monarch, having studied all Methods for the Encrease of his Power, and the Enriching as well as Polishing his Subjects, has travell'd through most part of *Europe*, and visited the Courts of the greatest Princes; from whence, by his own Observation, as well as by carrying with him Artists in most useful Knowledge, he has transmitted most of our General Practice, especially in War and Trade, to his own Unpolite People ; and the Effects of this Curiosity of his are exceeding visible in his present Proceedings ; [50]

The Czar, like Gustavus Adolphus or William III, was identifiable as an autocratic, war-making male who, at the time of his visit to England, was described in similar terms, as "a Wise and Judicious Prince, of a sound discerning Judgement, Curteous and Affable, having Enlarg'd his Territories by the taking *Asoph*, and giving the *Turks* and *Tartars* many Overthrows ; his Understanding Refin'd, and much Improv'd by Learning and Travel ; The Delight of Princes, and the Joy and Safety of own People" [51]. Whilst Defoe's Peter, then, follows the propaganda model from a time when his popular appeal was at its height, *The Consolidator* also comments that, "by the Improvements he obtained in his *European* Travels,"

> he has Modell'd his Armies, form'd new Fleets, settled Foreign Negoce in several remote Parts of the World ; and we now see his Forces besieging strong Towns, with regular Approaches; and his Engineers raising Batteries, throwing Bombs, *&c.* like other Nations ; whereas before, they had nothing of Order among them, but carried all by *Onslaught* and *Scalado*, wherein they either prevailed by the Force of Irresistible Multitude, or were Slaughter'd by heaps, and left the Ditches of their Enemies fill'd with their Dead Bodies.

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[50] Defoe, *CTM*, p. 1.

[51] *A New and Exact Description of Muscovy ... containing all that is necessary to be known concerning that Vast Empire* (590.e.16, pp. i-ii. 1-28, 4°, 1698), p. 27.

> We see their Armies now form'd into regular Battalions; and their *Strelitz Musqueteers*, a People equivalent to the *Turks Janizaries*, cloath'd like our Guards, firing in Platoons, and behaving themselves with extraordinary Bravery and Order.
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Again, such rhetoric comes close to other reports of Russian military success. Thus, referring to footsoldiers "that bear Fire-Arms, or Gunners" as "*Strelseys*", *A New and Exact Description of Muscovy* stated that "a *Moscovite* Army appears very formidable:"

> And indeed they have done many brave Exploits, they have lately taken *Asoph*, a very Important place, and the last Year, in a Set-Battel, Overthrown and Ruin'd a Great Army of *Turks* and *Tartars*, going compleatly Armed, and well understanding the use of Fire-Arms ... Marching in good Order more than ever ... They also Encamp, Entrench and Lodg Advantageously, [are] Obedient to their Officers, and ready to Charge the Enemy on all occasions.
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Yet Defoe's "*Strelitz Musqueteers*" are nearer to the terminology of 'A Letter from ... Vienna' in *The Present Condition of the Muscovite Empire*, edited by Jodocus Crull, which noted that the "*strelitzes*" might "formerly be compared to the Janisaries of the *Turks*" [54]. Such a parallel was common enough, but that emphasis on the word 'formerly' needs attention. Both Letters mentioned their revolts, together with Peter's "Resolution ... to eradicate Root and Branch this factious crew of the *Strelitzes*, above two thousand of them were executed in sight of the Princess *Sophia*, all the rest being banished into *Siberia*, and some other remote

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52 Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 1-2.

53 *A New and Exact Description of Muscovy*, pp. 18-9.

54 'A Letter From ... Vienna', in Jodocus Crull, ed., *The Present Condition of the Muscovite Empire, Till the Year 1699. In Two Letters ... With the Life of the Present Emperour of China. By Father J. Bouvet, Missionary.* 2 Vols (794.d.6. 1-2, pp. i-xii. 1-70. 75-109. 1-111, 8°, 1699), p. 77.

Provinces" [55]. The First Letter in the Crull volume had, further, stated that Peter partly chose to besiege Asoph from a sense of the threat that the remainder of these soldiers sympathetic to Sophia's dynastic aims still posed "to his own Person." The Czar, then,

> had as yet in fresh memory the rebellious inclinations of his Guards the *Strelitzes* and did not question, but that by this War he should find means to rid himself of them, or at least to repress their Insolence, by augmenting the number of foreign Officers, well qualified and exercised in Military Art, whose Fortunes depending absolutely on him, he might intirely be assured of their Service and Fidelity. [56]

Whilst, for their part, the *'Turks Janizaries'* were originally christian tributaries, and had an even longer pedigree than the Russians, both groups formed standing armies that had ceased to be enemies. Suggesting both a sense of tradition and ending, Defoe thus situates rupture beneath the text. There is, then, something uncanny about his narrator's ecstasy as the corpses pile up. If such violence goes way beyond any beating fantasy, the common seventeenth century trope about Russian sadomasochism is, nevertheless, worth including here. For the *New and Exact Description* discussed Russian courtship in these terms:

> among other presents sometimes a Whip is sent, to let the Woman know what she has to trust to if she be disobedient, or break her Marriage Vows ; and for the generality, they are so far from resenting it as an Affront, that when Marry'd, the Wife Loves her Husband the better if sometimes he Corrects her ; and concludes, he Loves her not, if he altogether declines it [57].

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55 'A Letter From ... Vienna', p. 89; and see **strelitz**, *OED*, Vol. VXI, p. 878, "(Russian *strelets* archer, f. *strelyat'* shoot, f. *strela* arrow) ... A soldier belonging to a body of Russian troops composed of infantry raised by the Tsar Ivan the Terrible (1533-84) and abolished by Peter the Great in 1682."

56 'The Present Condition', pp. 10-11.

57 *A New and Exact Description of Muscovy*, p. 9. See, for example, *The New Yeeres Gift: Presented at Court, ... wherein is proved Little Things are better then Great. Written by Microphilus* (C.40.a.42., pp. i-viii. 1-116, 1638), pp. 63-4: "it is the fashion of the women of *Muscovy*, to love that Husband best which beateth them most, and to thinke themselvefss never loved or regarded, unless they be two or three times a day wel favouredly swadled."

Whilst *The Consolidator* doesn't provide similar details, this fantasy or actual activity which is properly sadomasochistic since it involves "an element of *sexual* excitement or enjoyment", may be said to underpin the further narratives of Russian violence and colonization [58]. Defoe's rhetorical strategy can, at another level, itself be questioned, since an opening such as "IT Cannot be unknown to any that have travell'd into the Dominions of the Czar of *Muscovy*", positions readers as seasoned travellers, yet much of what follows can be shown to be historically incorrect. Praise of Russian military order stands in stark contrast to the nocturnal events of 8-9 August, 1704, when the Baltic towns of Dorpat, and then Narva were, after long sieges, wrested from the Swedes with speed, success, and considerable loss of life. At Narva, for example, after the "dispatch into the moat of court-martialled soldiers with scaling ladders", a costly practice which Defoe's narrator presents as a thing of the past, Evgenii V. Anisimov has noted how the "butchery of the civilian townsfolk" then ensued [59].

The change from chaotic murderousness to ordered engagement ordains that ditches full of dead bodies are no longer seen. 'Cloath'd like our Guards' creates superficial similarity, the sameness of 'as if' which cannot go beneath appearance. Two issues, though, stem from that close glance: rhythmic seduction promotes the policy used in various ways throughout *The Consolidator.* If persuasive visions function at differing levels of legitimacy, in the opening section the trick is simple but effective, for the Czar begins Defoe's strategy, introducing the notion of validation by eyesight—'by his own Observation'—whilst, on a less grand note, the narrator, to some degree an insider, also introduces the reader into the pleasurable power of insight—'and now we see'—in the first long paragraph. Having seen 'their Armies now form'd into regular Battalions', euphoria levels rise as the New City, that *locus classicus* of the totalitarian impulse, comes into view. After mentioning the Baltic, which

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58 Laplanche, *Life and Death*, p. 87.

59 Evgenii V. Anisimov, *The Reforms of Peter the Great, Progress Through Coercion in Russia*, trans. by John T. Alexander (Armonk NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1993), p.101.

thus presents the recently taken towns without naming the new boundaries of Czarist control, the sentence below marks a sense of excess. Uniting land and water it climaxes and, after the semi-colon, changes tone and direction, from vision to inward reflection:

> We see their Ships now compleatly fitted, built and furnish'd, by the *English* and *Dutch* Artists, and their Men of War Cruize in the *Baltick*. Their New City of *Petersburgh* built by the present Czar, begins now to look like our *Portsmouth*, fitted with Wet and Dry Docks, Storehouses, and Magazines of Naval Preparations, vast and Incredible ; which may serve to remind us, how we once taught the *French* to build Ships, till they are grown able to teach us how to use them. [60]

Defoe's virtually orgasmic vision of St. Petersberg as capital growth stood, like the place itself, on shaky foundations. In 1705, the city had none of the stone paving later praised by visitors and rain would have made all streets, including the Nevsky Prospect, "impassable". An eyewitness in the 1720s thought it closer to a "heap of villages bunched together like some plantation in the West Indies" whilst, as Alex de Jonge noted, "problems of supply made food prices in those years from five to eight times as high as those of Moscow" [61]. As for the unspoken procedures which Defoe's narrator wished to celebrate, if the wealthier inhabitants found houses on unfinished canals that turned into "foul-smelling swamps" due to the irregular water supply, seemingly arbitrary decrees carrying heavy fines controlled every architectural aspect, from chimney sizes to "the width of bridges", and even named who might build bathhouses. Indeed, whilst the Czar's decrees moved people like animals, during his lifetime the city was known as "a place of hard labor for criminals". And, perhaps most significantly, though "explicit justification" was, in Anisimov's words,

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60 Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 2-3.

61 Alex de Jonge, *Fire and Water: A Life of Peter the Great* (Collins, 1979), p. 220.

"characteristic of Peter's "training" legislation as a whole. Here, however, in a sphere so directly affecting every person we find none" [62].

When *The Consolidator* discusses how "this great Monarch with Indefatigable Industry ... has settled a new, but constant Trade, between his Country and *China*, by Land ; where his Caravans go twice or thrice a Year, as Numerous almost, and as strong, as those from *Egypt* to *Persia*", a similar note of fantasy again rings out, for the latter nation was by no means an easily exploitable target:

> Nor is the Way shorter, or the Desarts they pass over less wild and uninhabitable, only that they are not so subject to Flouds of Sand, *if that Term be proper*, or to Troops of *Arabs*, to destroy them by the way ; for this powerful Prince, to make this terrible Journey feazible to his Subjects, has built Forts, planted Collonies and Garisons at proper Distances ; where, though they are seated in Countries intirely Barren, and among uninhabited Rocks and Sands ; yet, by his continual furnishing them from his own Stores, the Merchants travelling are reliev'd on good Terms, and meet both with Convoy and Refreshment.

Since Defoe's narrator has "a longer Voyage in Hand", he ends discussion of how these "prodigious" preparations have "made easy" an "exact Correspondence" and "prodigious Trade between *Muscow* and *Tonquin*" [63]. Again, this attitude finds support in such pre-1700 claims as:

> It is to the *Muscovites*, *Europe* stands indebted for the Discovery of the Way by Land into *China* ; and by the frequent Embassy sent by the present

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62 Anisimov, *The Reforms of Peter*, p. 241.
63 Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 3-4.

> Czar into that Country, the Way through the *Great-Tartary* is as well or better known to the *Russians*, than some Provinces of their own Empire. Several goodly Cities and Villages have been built for the Conveniency of the *Muscovite* Carevans [sic], and a vast Tract of Ground has been incorporated with the *Russian* Empire. [64]

If that final act of incorporation presents an aspect of the relationship between the two countries evaded by *The Consolidator*, the fantasmatic nature of Defoe's Russia nevertheless mixes historical detail and wishful thinking. For, in truth, though Peter "made attempts to develop the overland trade with China," he sent only "two large" and generally "unsuccessful missions to Pekin" [65].

Even more notable perhaps is the parallel between those besieged fortified towns, which suffer Russian aggression, and their own forts, colonies, and garrisons, that make the way into China so apparently trouble free. For the seeming ease of such ambitious schemes for pleasure and profit erase the distinction between imagination and material reality to present the delusion of instant gratification. Further, looking at the double etymology through which the Latin verb *castrare*, to castrate, and the noun *castrum*, a fortified (separated) place, both derive from the Indo-European root *kes*, to cut, Charles Bernheimer noted that, as with a "fortified castle that separates the lord's subjects" from his enemies, "castration derives its theoretical power from its ability to articulate the field of difference, defining presence and absence, wholeness and lack, masculine and feminine, desire and the Law" [66].

Whilst the desert is described as "intirely Barren", thus coding the "uninhabited" land in feminized terms that locate lack and absence, through "continual furnishing", like the good Samaritan, "from his own Stores," the Czar becomes the nursing father and mother to his

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64 'A Letter From ... Vienna', p. 80.

65 de Jonge, *Fire and Water*, p. 249.

66 Charles Bernheimer, "'Castration' as fetish', *Paragraph* 14:1 (1991), 1-9, (p. 1).

merchant travellers in what can be seen as a totalizing fantasy of phallic productivity which veils the anxiety of castration. Yet neo-imperialist desire storms its own fortifications as bodies pile up in ditches.

China

Defoe's more extensive and complicated satire on China has been called a xenophobic rejection of the sinophilia displayed by Sir William Temple and earlier seventeenth century English writers such as John Webb, whose 1668 *Historical Essay* argued that "*China* was after the Flood first planted either by *Noah* himself, or some of the sons of *Sem*, before they removed to *Shinaar*", so that

> *it may with much probability be asserted, That the Language of the Empire of CHINA, is, the PRIMITIVE Tongue, which was common to the whole World before the Flood* [67].

The Consolidator's use of absurd parody has been explained as a warning not to overvalue China, or accept the "panegyrics of Catholic priests and apologists for the Ancients"; nevertheless, this first phase of Defoe's negative attitude to pro-Chinese sentiment needs revision [68]. For, whilst he may have "resented a government which was self-sufficient, exclusive in policy, and looked upon bustling Whig merchants as undesirable barbarians", Defoe's portrait utterly erased the country's archetypal "good governor" Confucius, an attractive figure to both "orthodox and heterodox thinkers" who, as "the supreme apostle of the orderly *status quo*", was generally accepted across early eighteenth century England as a non-partisan humanist representative of patriarchal benevolence [69].

If, then, the opposed views of Temple and Defoe both commodified a nation too large for the western ego, the latter writer deliberately emphasized that this vision of a mythical other was marked by an absence. Effectively rewriting national identity in this way not only questions the narrator's intelligence, but also stresses the topics of language and lack. For

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67 John Webb cited by Longxi, 'The Myth of the Other', p. 120.

68 Nelson and Rewa, 'Enlightenment Sinophilia', p. 27.

69 William W. Appleton, *A Cycle of Cathay: The Chinese Vogue in England during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 41.

whilst Chinese had, against the imperial predictions of New Science, proved too hard to translate, Confucius himself was famous for his belief that a ruler's first responsibility must be proper language use since, as Rosemary Waldrop notes, corruption of meaning influenced customs, the arts and the justice system, so that the population would no longer "know what to do" [70]. Further, whilst *The Consolidator* emphasized translation, in his *Projects* "*D.F.*" had himself commented in very Confucian terms on how the "voice" of the "society ... to encourage polite learning ... should be sufficient authority for the usage of words, and sufficient also to expose the innovations of other men's fancies ; they should have liberty to correct and censure the exorbitance of writers, especially of translators" [71]. The self-satirizing narrator thus attacks not China itself, but the totalitarian model of a society 'transparent to itself':

> I am told, in some Parts of *China*, they had arriv'd to such a Perfection of Knowledge, as to understand one anothers Thoughts ; and that it was found to be an excellent Preservative to humane Society, against all sorts of Frauds, Cheats, Sharping, and many Thousand *European* Inventions of that Nature, *at which only we can be said to out-do those Nations.* [72]

Whilst the narrator's discussion of beating as a solution for poetic licence invoked parent child relationships, the popular Russian paradigm presented beating as central to the heterosexual libidinal bond. This violence, then, is central to two different group formations which can also be read as metaphors for the subject's relationship to the ruler or the state. As if to emphasize how both of these foreign countries are part of an intertwined satire on totalitarian regimes, the central tenet of the Czar's approach to law, so

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70 Confucius cited by Rosmary Waldrop, 'Alarms & Excursions', in *The Politics of Poetic Form: Poetry and Public Policy*, ed. by Charles Bernstein (New York: Roof, 1990), p. 46.
71 Defoe, *EP*, repr. in *CEW*, pp. 126-7.
72 Defoe, *CTM*, p. 10.

conspicuously disregarded during his model city's construction, slips over into the narrator's Chinese experiences who, though "astonish'd at every Day's Discovery of new and of unheard-of Worlds of Learning", was

> Improv'd in the Superficial Knowledge of their General, by no body so much as by my Conversation with the Library-keeper of *Tonquin*, by whom I had Admission into the vast Collection of Books, which the Emperors of that Country have treasur'd up. [73]

A transmission of the Library "Catalogue" might be literally "endless", and besides, the Chinese will "admit of no Strangers to write anything down". Yet "what the Memory can retain, you are welcome", figuratively speaking, "to carry away with you" [74]. But it is here, in their cultural memory's storehouse, that Peter's maxim holds sway. "It was", then,

> present Death for the Library-keeper to refuse the meanest *Chinese* Subject to come in and read them ; for 'tis their Maxim, *That all People ought to know the Laws by which they are to be govern'd* ... [75]

If, then, the threat of death itself oversees any denial of access to Chinese law, the Jesuit Father Bouvet had reported how "a good Bastonade or Whipping, is an extraordinary Punishment in *China*, and some other *Eastern-Parts*, which do not leave behind them any Stain of Infamy, as it is with us in *Europe* ; nothing being more frequently to be seen, than, that the *Emperour*'s Servants, after they have been thus Chastised, are put in their former Stations again" [76]. This third image of beating from a popular contemporary source cannot

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[73] Defoe, *CTM*, p. 11.
[74] Defoe, *CTM*, p. 11; see also Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 15-6.
[75] Defoe, *CTM*, p. 12.
[76] J. Bouvet, 'The History of Cang-Hy', in Crull, pp. 74-5.

properly be seen as a sadomasochistic fantasy. Its violence, nevertheless, connects thematically with the images already discussed, whilst its underlying message of stasis (marking an ideal identification) can be traced as a symptom in the narrator's discussion of how the Chinese survived "the General Deluge", in "a Fleet of Ships of 100000 Sail, built at the Expence of the Emperor *Tangro* the 15th ; who having Notice of" it, "prepar'd these Vessels, to every City and Town in his Dominions One, and"

> in Bulk proportion'd to the number of its Inhabitants ; into which Vessel all the People, with such Moveables as they thought fit to save, and with 120 Days Provisions, were receiv'd at the time of the Floud ; and the Rest of their Goods being put into great Vessels made of *China* Ware, and fast luted down on the top, were preserv'd unhurt by the Water : These Ships they furnish'd with 600 Fathom of Chain instead of Cables ; which being fastned by wonderful Arts to the Earth, every Vessel rid out the Deluge just at the Town's end ; so that when the Waters abated, the People had nothing to do, but to open the Doors made in the Ship-sides, and come out, repair their Houses, open the great *China* Pots their Goods were in, and so put themselves in *Statu Quo*. [77]

The Library scene's emphasis on memory is crucial to *The Consolidator*'s largely retrospective procedure, and connects it with a subsequent psychological description and with reports of the Chinese Emperor's own supreme powers of dissimulation, a subject close to Defoe's heart. Bouvet, indeed, had begun with the declaration that, "to be short, there is scarce any Prince, that ever I heard of, who more seriously reflects upon all what comes before him, who knows better the Art of Dissimulation, and is a greater Master both of his Words and Secrets."

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[77] Defoe, *CTM*, p. 7-8.

He is so happy in his Memory, as to remember for a great while after, the meanest of Circumstances of Things he has once taken notice of, even to the names of Persons; neither the multitude of his Affairs, of which he daily takes cognizance himself, neither the length of Time being able to rase that out of his Memory, which has been once firmly imprinted there. [78]

After noting that "*Conscience* has one large Ware-house, and the *Devil* another", he goes on to write of "a clear Thorough-fare, representing the World, through which so many Thousand People pass so easily, and do so little worth taking notice of, that 'tis for no manner of Signification to leave Word they have been here."

> Thro' this *Opening* pass Millions of things not worth remembring, and which the Register-Keepers, who stand at the Doors of the Classes, as they go by, take no notice of ; such as Friendships, helps in Distress, Kindnesses in Affliction, Voluntary Services, and all sorts of Importunate Merit ; things which being but Trifles in their own Nature, are made to be forgotten.
>
> In another Angle is to be seen the *Memory*'s *Garden*, in which her most pleasant things are not only Deposited, but Planted, Transplanted, Grafted, Inoculated, and obtain all possible Propagation and Encrease ; these are the most pleasant, delightful, and agreeable things, call'd Envy, Slander, Revenge, Strife and Malice, with the Additions of Ill-turns, Reproaches, and all manner of Wrong ; these are caressed in the Cabinet of the *Memory*, with a World of Pleasure never let pass, and carefully Cultivated with all imaginable Art. [79]

Whereas *The Consolidator*'s treatment of Russia constructed new meanings by repeating contemporary claims, Defoe's fabulous China introduces ironic potential that emphasizes

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[78] Bouvet, 'History', p. 9.
[79] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 19-21.

the narrator's contradictions. Thus, he takes "the Doctrines of Passive Obedience, *&c.* among the States-men, to be like the Copernican System of the Earths Motion among Philosophers ; which, though it be contrary to all antient Knowledge, and not capable of Demonstration, yet is adher'd to in general, because by this they can better solve, and give a more rational Account of several dark Phænomena in Nature, than they could before" [80].

Though opposed by religious reformers like Luther, the Copernican revolution was welcomed in sixteenth century England, where Newton's own later investigations into gravity resulted from a further undermining of Aristotle's explanation that objects fell to the 'natural' centre. Defoe's fictional journey to the moon, which Copernicus proposed orbited the earth in a heliocentric system, acknowledges that the earth may not be the only site of life, which is to proceed from assumptions made viable by the Copernican System. The passage above, however, challenges the premiss on which *The Consolidator* is written, just as the comparison of what originated a new progressive spirit in science with doctrines of passive obedience queries whether the narrator has appreciated the reality of conditions in the countries he praises. Further, if Defoe's first readers would have seen the irony of a narrator idolizing Chinese science who often deploys Newtonian metaphors, since the *Opticks* made available results challenged by the Jesuits, whose power over Chinese science was public knowledge, Defoe's narrator particularly praises areas such as astronomy. Yet Bouvet's Emperor, showing his son, "the Observatory of *Peking*, and all the Mathematical Instruments there," had "told the Prince,"

> That the Empire of *China* stood indebted to Father *Verbiest*, for these many Curious and Magnificent Engines, making a large recital of the services done by this Father, and the other Missionaries, to the late Emperour his Father. [81]

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[80] Defoe, *CTM*, p. 14.
[81] Bouvet, 'History', p. 92.

Similarly, though the traveller finds "two famous Volumes in Chyrurgery, being an exact Description of the Circulation of the Blood," which had made William Harvey's reputation, but here "discovered long before King *Solomon*'s Allegory of the Bucket's going to the Well", Bouvet commented that "the Chineses, for all their great Reputation of having for many years past, had the ablest Physicians, have at present but a very confused Knowledge in Anatomy" [82].

Attacking poetic excess repeats *The Pacificator*, which called Dryden the "General" who "First Sacrific'd to the *Emperor o' th' Moon*" [83]. The links between China and the moon are also strengthened by the suggestion that "*Chinese* Knowledge" might have allowed this poet to tell "his Fate, that having his extraordinary genius"

> flung and pitcht upon a Swivle, it would certainly turn round as fast as the Times, and instruct him to write Elegies to *O. C.* and King *C.* the Second, with all the coherence imaginable; how to write *Religio Laicy*, and the *Hind* and *Panther*, and yet be the same Man, every Day to change his Principle, change his Religion, change his Coat, change his Master, and yet never change his Nature. [84]

The Chinese lunar philosopher has, in addition, "numerous Improvements, and wonderful Discoveries" in his "Chamber of Rarities", including "a Map of *Parnassus* ... and a learned Dissertation, proving it to be the properest Place next to the P- - -e House to take a Rise at, for a flight to the World in the *Moon.*"

> Also some Enquiries, whether *Noah*'s Ark did not first rest upon it ; and this might be one of the Summits of

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[82] Defoe, *CTM*, pp. 12-5; Bouvet, 'History', pp. 63-4.
[83] Defoe, *The Pacificator. A Poem*, repr. in *POAS*, Vol. VI, p. 158, ll. 284-6.
[84] Defoe, *CTM*, p. 29.

> *Ararat*, with some Confutations of the gross and palpable Errors which place this extraordinary Skill among the Mountains of the *Moon* in *Africa*. [85]

If such speculations owe something to Wilkins, the metaphysical fire that permeates the Newtonian eye suggests a final subtext, for, superimposing some topographical sites through Noah's project, the text also replays the recuperative act when Ariosto's Astolfo "mounted his flying horse and rose into the air to reach the summit of the mountain, for it was generally believed that the orb of the moon stood not far from its peak". Taken to the moon in John the Evangelist's fiery chariot, Astolfo is allowed to return with Orlando's wits, removed by God to punish his "wrongdoing" [86]. In this way, *The Consolidator*'s narrative of contestation, violent conflict and poetic madness can, nevertheless, be taken as an act of authorial restoration, or overcoming of the death drive's destructive aim.

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[85] Defoe, *CTM*, p. 30-1.

[86] Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, trans. and intro. by Guido Waldman, The World's Classics (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), Canto 34, pp. 416-21; if the Chinese were saved by a vast ship, the knight finds a "palace" with "a perimeter of over thirty miles which seemed to be ablaze with a living flame, it radiated such splendour and light, beyond all mortal experience" (p. 417).

8. *Caledonia*

> Our author's gratitude for the favours he received from the Scots, led him to embalm the worth of many of their most eminent families. [1]

Defoe's double rhetoric has been linked to the death drive's projection of conflict and fragmentation into tropes of unity. Amongst other issues, earlier Chapters studied symptoms of ambivalence and the drive's sadomasochistic logic. Finally, Chapter 8 examines the coercive presence of death in *Caledonia*'s panegyric satire during a highly significant act of peace and union, when Wilson saw Defoe's praise of Scotland's ancient traditions and military prowess as an embalming process. This double agenda has many levels and, aside from both celebrating and negating the patriarchal family honour that often resulted from death in battle, various figures locate the pleasure of unpleasure in other ways. Thus, whilst deflecting the symbolism of anti-Union metaphors, Defoe's treatment of the fishery as a source of wealth comparable with colonial gold would also remind readers of Scotland's foreign policy frustrations. Further, when constitutional difficulties arose some seven years later, his discussion of the problem in terms of marriage, suicide, and death-bed blessings, continued to display the drive's working.

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[1] Wilson, *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 486-7.

In the year that *The True-Born Englishman* mocked the Scottish nobles who joined James I in England, George Steel alluded to Scotland's historic rejection of foreign invaders, a central tenet for defenders of constitutional independence, calling the English "four times thirled and overharld" and, thus, "the great refuse of all the world". To defend Scottish independence by contrasting ancient freedoms with England's record of conquest would, as Colin Kidd remarks, always involve "a slur on the history of English liberty" [2]. At the eighteenth century's start, then, struggles over ancientness between two still separate national identities were mediated by a constitutional dimension that invoked themes of mastery and enslavement.

John, Baron Belhaven, an opponent of Defoe during the Treaty negotiations, drew on this narrative which also contained examples of intermarriage and betrayal, when complaining in January, 1701 about England's lack of support for, and, in some instances, active oppositon to, the Darien Company's colony, known as Caledonia. For, after the Scots had helped the Picts at their request to repulse the Brittons, the two groups "Married, and gave in Marriage and lived like one People", but "in time the *Picts* and *Brittons* joyned together against the *Scots*, and were so successful in their attempts, that they forced the *Scots* to abdicate old *Caledonia*:"

> Did our Noble Predecessors give over thoughts or endeavour for their own re-establishment? No, for tho near 17 Years they wanted Possession, yet they made several unsuccessful attempts, till at last there came a *Fergus* the Second, who reposses'd himself of his Rightfull Inheritance, and after him came a *Kenneth* the Third who rooted out the treacherous *Picts*: The *Romans* and *Danes*, conquered the *Brittons*, the *Danes* and *Normans* the *Saxons*, so that by the Providence of God, we are at this day the only *Ab-origines* of great *Brittain*. [3]

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[2] Steel cited by Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish whig historians and the creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689- c. 1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 45.

[3] John Hamilton, 2nd Baron Belhaven, *A Speech in Parliament On the 10th day of January 1701, by the Lord Belhaven, On the Affair of the Indian and African Company, and its Colony of Caledonia* (Edinburgh: 1494.f.16., pp. i. 3-12, 1701), p. 11.

Defoe's standing in Scotland cannot have risen when the Jacobite anti-Unionist Patrick Abercromby cited his poetic satire on the Scots in *The Advantages of the Act of Security.* Abercromby also cleverly used *The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England,* to reinforce his initial claim that "our Parliament ... will not in their great Wisdom think, That they have Power enough lodged in themselves to conclude upon the whole, a *Treaty* which their Original, and ... *their Superior,* the People generally look upon as *subversive of* their own *Constitution*" [4]. If, then, Defoe's previous stances made him vulnerable to assault in a way he would not have admitted to Harley, the title chosen for his Union poem suggests multiple identifications with irritating colonial echoes that need further investigation.

Noting how the text traces a "correspondence between the land and the people", Backscheider argued that *Caledonia*'s title recalled "the first settlers, who successfully resisted the Roman attempt to conquer the entire island of Great Britain" [5]. Yet the costliness of resistance detracts from the sense of success. For, as Sheppard Frere wrote, during the most important military engagement with Agricola's Roman Legions in AD 82, 10,000 "Caledonians were said to have perished for the loss of only 360 Roman troops" [6]. In addition, this potential link contains a certain irony since Defoe, who celebrated Roman military achievement in his *Projects,* paints the history of Scotland's European valour as something now more akin to suicide if the casualties were not legitimated by membership of what was already, before the Union, a British army in all but name. Further, as the Belhaven connection may have already hinted, Defoe's image of the people (as opposed to the nobility and gentry) and the land is at once less benevolent and less heroic than such images of resistance would imply. Belhaven 1701's speech had, then, belatedly asserted "*Scotland*'s Right to, and the King of *Scotland*'s Sovereignty over the Colony of *Caledonia,* in the *Isthmus* of *Darien* in *America*". This claim was supported by two further points: "Negatively, That

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[4] Patrick Abercromby, *The Advantages of the Act of Security, Compar'd with These of the Intended Union : Founded on the Revolution Principles Publish'd by Mr. Daniel De Foe* ... (8142.k.l. (11.), pp. 3-36, 4°, 1706), p. 10, and see pp. 18-9.

[5] Backscheider, 'Poetry', in *Ambition and Innovation,* pp. 12-41, (p. 38); but see W. Ferguson, 'Imperial Crowns: A Neglected Facet of the Background to the Treaty of Union of 1707', *SHR,* 53 (1974), 22-14.

[6] Sheppard Frere, *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain,* 3rd edn., ext. rev'd. (Pimlico, 1987), p. 97.

the King of *Spain* had neither Right nor Possession", and "Next", by an archetypal colonizer's fantasy, that

> Positively, Our Right is unquestionable, by the full and free Consent and Surrender of the Natives possessing, and having Right to the said Settlement [7].

Metonymizing an entire country into a particular tribe, *Caledonia* performs a significant displacement as it combines a narrative of costly resistance central to Scotland's self-image with a more recent one of her own frustration despite what was being called free surrender by those in possession, thus turning Belhaven's own propaganda back on itself. The doubleness of Defoe's poem in fact began with its dual publication for, when first printed in folio at Edinburgh, *Caledonia* appeared with a patronizing 'Preface to the Parliament' that initiated the work's strategy of combining praise with criticism and distortion. When published a few months later in London, the Preface had been replaced by a subscription list of Scottish notables that suggests an analogy with those drawn south by Court patronage. Whilst the poem remained essentially the same, the two editions were thus culturally disempowering in different ways.

Calling poetry "a privileged metalanguage in western patriarchal culture ... language about language", which thus suggests its own "introverted or doubled relation", Cora Kaplan notes that, since poetry appears "to imitate a closed linguistic system it is presented to us as invitingly accessible to our understanding once we have pushed past its formal difficulties" [8]. Selecting a literary form which might operate analogically to suggest just this sense of rewarding invitation, once certain difficulties have been surmounted, Defoe, it is argued, thus used poetry, in contrast to prose, to construct what are in some ways offered as universal truths about Scotland. A poem about union as power broking that disavowed its

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7 Belhaven, *A Speech in Parliament On the 10th day of January 1701*, p. 10.

8 Cora Kaplan, 'Language and Gender', in *The Feminist Critique of Language: A Reader*, ed. by Deborah Cameron (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 57-69, (p. 57).

own projecting spirit, *Caledonia* had few formal barriers. Yet, if the title claimed to "Honour" Scotland and the Scots Nation, the modernizing satirist of genealogical pride identified this quality with a "disempowering cultural image", that of the "distant, mist-wreathed past", presented in part as "an elemental land of warrior men and wan maidens" [9].

By contrast, though the early modern narrative of economic progress drew the militarized nation state's symbolic territory around the defining image of "A perfect Prostitute to Industry" discussed in detail later, and despite the marginal figures of bride and Ancient Mother, women as such are absent from what is, at heart, a manly narrative where honourable military traditions in the process of being embalmed provide a counterweight to antisocial mob violence. Indeed, the threat of various kinds of violence permeates *Caledonia*'s authorized exploitation of the country as femininized object. Whilst, then, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik reflected that, had it then been "known" that Defoe was "a Spy amongst us, ... the Mob of Edin. had pulled him to pieces", the 'Dedication to Queensberry' stressed this topic:

> SCOTLAND *has had many an ill Picture drawn for her in the World; and as she had been represented in False Draughts, no Wonder the Injurys she has suffered are intolerable.*
>
> *All the Spies sent hither have carry'd back an ill Report of the Land, and fill'd the World with weak Banters and Clamour at they know not what.* [10]

Defoe's status as spy and explorative projector creates a "divided subject" whose transferential manipulation of Scotland as *Caledonia* allows him to achieve the "imaginary mastery" which, in terms of psychic reality, averts the external violence of the immediate historical situation. Publicly stressing his own "righteousness" and position as a friendly

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[9] Defoe, *Caledonia, &c. A Poem in Honour of Scotland, and the Scots Nation. In Three Parts.* Printed by the Heirs and Successors of *Andrew Anderson*, Printer to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, *Anno Dom.* 1706. (G. 13436, pp. i-viii. 1-60, fol., Edinburgh). Henceforth *CE*; Pat Kane, 'Me Tartan, you chained to past', *Guardian 2*, 18 May 1995, p. 12.

[10] *Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik*, (Edinburgh, 1892), p. 64, cited in *LDH*, p. 158; Defoe, 'To his Grace the Duke of Queensberry', p. i, in *CE*.

"Other" whose messages can "be welcomed as truth", Defoe's conscious propagandist aims also have their internal equivalent in the desire to negate the violence that accompanies delusions of unified identification [11]. If the threat of death is linked to his secret status in Scotland, Abraham and Torok have defined the metapsychological concept of Reality "as what is rejected, masked, denied precisely as 'reality'; it is that which is, all the more so since it must not be known". Whilst, by itself, *Caledonia* locates a double space and destination, Defoe's figurative use of life and death should, then, be taken into account for it is precisely his reality as spy, "where the secret is buried", that his speculating public persona must disavow. Yet, as they further state, "the metapsychological Reality of the secret is a counter-part to the reality of the outside world; the negation of the one entails the refusal of the other" [12]. A pattern emerges here, then, that in some sense repeats his Occasional Conformity plea, that "Men should seem what they are", a position inseparable from the harsher assertion that "if he cannot suffer one way, let him suffer another". However, his letters to Harley contain precisely the opposite model, of pleasure at multiple identification [13].

Whilst Chalmers would also use the same figure when he called *The History of the Union* "a drama", claiming that its author was "no inconsiderable actor in the peformance", Defoe privately transformed Scotland into a theatricalized site, or "stage of Confusion" [14]. Acting, and acting out, thus return as questions allied to what Slavoj Zizek analyzes as the "accentuated 'theatricality'" of extremist politics in the English spy's delightedly pragmatic reconfiguration of St. Paul [15]. Between confident admissions of extravagance and multiple impersonation, requests of a different sort underline a distanced fantasy of empowerment that is, at the same time, a conscious attempt to produce an authorial identity as intertext. At the same time, however, whilst attacking the stage in his *Review*, and receiving private

11 Guegen, 'Transference', pp. 78-82.

12 Abraham and Torok, 'The Topography of Reality: Sketching a Metapsychology of Secrets' (1971), in the *Shell and the Kernel*, Vol. I ed. Rand, pp. 157-61, (p. 157).

13 Defoe, *An Enquiry* (1698), pp. 18-23.

14 Chalmers, *Life*, pp. 31-5; Defoe, 'Letter 59. *To* Robert Harley. *2 November 1706.*', in *LDH*, p. 139.

15 Zizek, 'The Deadlock of Repressive Desublimation', in *The Metastases of Enjoyment*, pp. 7-28, (p. 21).

congratulations from William Melmoth, Defoe described Harley's "power" as his "screen" from enemies who might move against him in his absence [16]:

> Tho I will Not Answer for Success yet I Trust in Mannagemt you shall not be Uneasy at your Trusting me here. I have Compass't my First and Main step happily Enough, in That I am Perfectly Unsuspectd as Corresponding with anybody in England. I Converse with Presbyterian, Episcopall-Dissenter, papist and Non Juror, and I hope with Equall Circumspection. I flatter my Self you will have no Complaints of my Conduct. I have faithfull Emissaries in Every Company And I Talk to Everybody in Their Own way. To the Merchants I am about to Settle here in Trade, Building Ships &c. With the Lawyers I Want to purchase a House and Land to bring my family & live Upon it (God knows where the Money is to pay for it). To day I am Goeing into Partnership with a Membr of parliamt in a Glass House, to morrow with Another in a Salt work. With the Glasgow Mutineers I am to be a fish Merchant, with the Aberdeen Men a woollen and with the Perth and western men a Linen Manufacturer, and still at the End of all Discourse the Union is the Essentiall and I am all to Every one that I may Gain some.
>
> Again I am in the Morning at the Committee, in the Afternoon in the assembly. I am privy to all their folly, I wish I Could not Call it knavery, and am Entirely Confided in. [17]

Further, the psychic reality in his boast that he was 'Perfectly Unsuspected' fuels a consciously provocative approach beneath which the claim that he was 'Entirely Confided in' reveals the paranoid fear that results from balancing one construction of male violence against another [18]. These complex patterns of exhibitionism and disguise, which combine the need to be both seen and screened, or not seen, also suggest that Defoe's fantasies of empowerment are symptomatic of specular identification's most powerful contradiction, which reflects the death drive's *fort / da* movement, namely the desire to be at once both

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16 Defoe, 'Letter 57. *To* Robert Harley. *29 October 1706*', in *LDH*, pp. 137-8, (p. 138); and see 'Letter 58. William Melmoth *to* Defoe. [*November 1706 ?*]', in *LDH*, pp. 138-9.

17 Defoe, 'Letter 68. [*To* Robert Harley]. *26 November 1706*', in *LDH*, pp. 158-60, (pp. 158-9).

18 Defoe, 'Letter 66. [*To* Robert Harley]. [22] *November 1706*', in *LDH*, pp. 152-55, "If I am too forward, I beseech you Sir Restrain me by your Ordrs, for I have no Other Uneasiness—I seek the service by the Directest methods, I am master of— If I Err, the missfortune will be mine, but Indeed Indeed Sir Want of Instructions, is a Mellancholly Reflection, and makes me Frequently think me self an Unworthy Instrument." (p. 155).

visible and invisible. Whilst *Caledonia* doesn't foreground formal difficulty, Defoe draws attention to its literary status by promoting an intertextual discourse between the main text and footnotes which expand or repeat the argument, and provide source material and textual authorities. Some of these notes also suggest how an agenda of corrective translation operates throughout. For example, Part III's roll call of names begins:

> Blest are the Families that great in Blood,
> Have *thus* their *truest Honour* understood ;
> That on the Base of Virtue Built their Fame,
> And join it to *that* (*a*) *lesser Praise* their Name,
> The only Just and truly great Design ;
> For Virtue helps Nobility to shine.

Defoe comments in footnote (*a*) that, whilst 'lesser' may be "objected against as ungrammatical, and therefore by some very carefully avoided in Verse, and by others, perhaps, too critically Censur'd". Citing some Greek equivalences as "very good Authority for the Word," he is then willing to "venture the Censure of the Criticks" and, by so doing, to draw particular attention to his language use [19]. Three stanzas later, Defoe takes his stand on a prosodic point:

> *Douglas* with Native Dignities adorn'd,
> Ancient beyond Record,
> Records they scorn'd.
> The World's the general (*a*) Record of their House,
> When Histories are silent and abstruse.
> ...

(*a*) *Record.* Here I make no question but to be animad-verted upon for my different way of expressing the word *Record,* and changing the Quantity, making the Vowel long in the last Syllable of the first, and short in the last Syllable of the second. But for this, I have so good Authority that all Men will allow it

[19] Defoe, *Caledonia*, ... Printed by J. Matthews, and Sold by John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall. 1707. MS date on London Library copy, "28 Januar." (1077.h.12., pp. 55, 8°, London, 1707), Pt. III, pp. 40-1. Henceforth *CL*.

> sufficient to justifie me ; being from such a Master of the Language as *Buchannan* himself, as follows.
>
> *Dies tenebras & tenebræ Diem,*
>
> Buch. Ps. 19. ver. 2. l. I.
>
> Which being the Verse call'd *Dactilicus alchaius*, the second Foot is always *Jambus*, and the third and fourth *Dactyli*. [20]

Defoe's allusion here solidifies his identification as a lover of Scotland by citing Buchanan as his literary model. More conventional praise is found in the Dedication to Queensberry, where Defoe lists those things which, when viewed, "*Amaz'd*" him, namely "*the Politeness of the Schollars, the Courtesie of the Gentlemen, the Beauty of the Ladies, and at last the Grandeur of your Grace's Court, the Illustrious Nobility, and all the Oeconomy of State and Government*" [21].

Caledonia, as stated earlier, has little interest in women, as opposed to symbolic feminine identities. Thus, after six pages have been devoted to praising Scotland's noble families in Part III, commenting that "present Worthies do the past supply" Defoe suggests "with just regard let's view *the Fair*,"

> Beauty can make no Breach of Union here ;
> Th' Equalities agree on either hand,
> The Ladies *no equivalent* demand ;
> Nor will their Virtue be exhausted here,
> But still the Sex their just Proportions bear :
> Blest Mixture, equally Devout and Gay,
> For Virtue only can both smile and pray. [22]

Though only the Edinburgh edition's subsequent Preface continues to foreground the speaker's gender, using a visual metaphor, this poem affirmed a man's public identity by surveying the land as feminine object. Thus, just as male society, cultural achievements, and forms of government, surround the "*Beauty of Ladies*", a sexualized agenda is apparent from the outset, and the Dedication closes with Defoe pleading two merits to his work:

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[20] Defoe, *CL*, Part III, pp. 41-2; Defoe cites George Buchanan, *Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis Poetica* ... 2nd edn (1606/205, 12°, 1601), p. 37.
[21] Defoe, *CE*, 'Dedication', p. ii.
[22] Defoe, *CL*, Part III, pp. 48-9.

> First, T*hat the Attempt is perfectly new, and as Inventions Generally find Improvement in those that come after*; *so I hope this shall have the same* Fate, *and be a step to some Gentlemen, of which Scotland is far from wanting a sufficient* Number *to perfect this Embrio, and do their Countrey more compleat Justice. And* Secondly, *That it coming from a Stranger, and in meer* Sense *of Justice to your Grace's Countrey, the* Gentlemen *of* Scotland *however exceeding me in the performance, shall never have the Advantage of me there, who have had the* Honour, *however rudely, to be the first Man that ever attempted to rescue* Scotland *out of the Jaws of Slander, that Grave of her Character, and the Gulph in which all the great Actions of her Nobility and Gentry, are too much buried, and if it were possible for Vertue to dye, would be forgotten.*
>
> *Other Merit than this, and being a Lover of* Scotland, *I plead none, ...* [23]

Both friend and lover, then, Defoe is the *'first Man'* whose poetic project of restitution and resuscitation *'rudely'* resembles necrophilia. Claiming the status of going before other '*Gentlemen of* Scotland', the Adamic naming and founding drives (which judge and displace the feminine) can be located in Defoe's self-titling disavowal, as the poet becomes a model for how Scottish noblemen should behave.

The subsequent Preface to the Parliament picks up the word 'Justice' which had appeared three times in the Dedication, as Defoe portrays himself endeavouring "to pay a Debt of Justice here to the *Scots* Nation", without "one Word of Terms nor Times", in order to "oblige all sides". Thus Defoe argues later that "you may bring *Scotland* to be equal in her Native Wealth ... in Proportion to any of her Neighbours, and that with or without an Union."

> Indeed I have often wondred, the Gentlemen who are warm against an Union, have never erected this Proposal as an Equivalent against it—. They have entred into the Preliminaries of *Scotland*'s Felicity, and attempted to show which way to bring it to pass; but I never met with this *Medium.* [24]

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[23] Defoe, *CE*, 'Dedication', p. ii.

[24] Defoe, *CE*, 'The Preface to the Parliament', p. iii, p. vii.

Adopting, at the outset, the same figures that appear in his letters to Harley, and that had described the Dissenters during the Occasional Conformity debates, Defoe declared that he was "sorry to see so much differing about uniting, and more, to see so much uniting about differing ;"

> but 'tis nothing to me, and less, *if that can be*, to my Poem : All I have said of *Scotland* and *Scots* Men, will, I hope, be true to the Worlds End, whether there be an Union or no. [25]

"I came here", writes Defoe, "to offer you this Present". Beside this gift of an instant future, the appearence of an impartial and timeless "Supposition of Improvement" allows Defoe to criticize its lack in similarly depoliticized terms: "When I have said what Scotland may be, and when I reflect what she is, I need say no more than lay open the Scheme of both, it would certainly lay a most indelible blame some where" [26].

> I have not room here to enter into Methods, and I shall be the last *M*an in *Scotland* upon Project—. The only Caution I take leave to give, is this— That Gentlemen being first well advised from the Nature of the Land, the Method of its Management, the Produce of the Earth, and the Cattel, would be pleased by little and little; *for to attempt it all at once, is to destroy themselves and their Design*, but by little and little, to cause every piece of Land to be improved, better'd and hearten'd to the Extent of its Nature and Capacity, in this Case you would soon see the Lands in *Scotland* equal in many places to the Lands in *England*, and all places much differing from what they are now. [27]

Caledonia illustrates the degree to which Defoe's mercantilist capitalism, inseparable from his metaphysics, permeates the practice of self-representation. For, inserted into this vague and repetitive cautionary advice, the ordinary phrase 'last *M*an in *Scotland*', which is at one level simply a statement to the effect that he will have no involvement in projective schemes, also

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25 Defoe, *CE*, 'The Preface to the Parliament', pp. iii-iv.
26 Defoe, *CE*, 'The Preface to the Parliament', p. iv.
27 Defoe, *CE*, 'The Preface to the Parliament', pp. vi-vii.

reveals itself as a negation recalling royal sacrifice that invokes a latent visionary and apocalyptic tone, since the title of The Last Man was given to Charles I. This statement's hidden status as a negation stems, of course, precisely from his own comments to Harley about his seemingly imminent involvement in so many different business ventures.

To take this analysis one step further, Rosalyn Diprose's contrast between "the 'last man', who views himself as the essential and unchangeable endpoint of his history", and the Nietzschean Overman, who "views himself as a moment", gives a sense of the power relationship being set up here [28]. Putting aside the paternalism that conditions this paragraph, it can be seen that, whilst the focus on improvement recalls certain themes from the An *Essay Upon Projects*, invoking futurity and disclosure, *Caledonia*'s more cautious rhetoric is bounded, propelled, and, at some level, almost legitimated by threats of destruction and self-destruction. If the Edinburgh Preface thus plays a central part, a number of important point still need emphasis. Stating that the "improv'd Estates" of "some Noble Families in *Scotland* ... are living Witnesses to the Truth" that "Your Wealth is before you", since "No Nation has so much room for it; none so much Cause for it", such successes also "upbraid the Neighbouring Gentlemen with not being equally forward, to accept of Natures [sic] Bounty, and put her on to do her Duty".

> I shall conclude this Address with a few Lines, which you will find again in the following Poem, and which contrary to Practice, I quote here to inculcat this Argument.
>
> *'Tis Blasphemy to say the Climat's curst,*
> *Nature will ne're be fruitful till she's forc't;*
> *Nature's a Virgin very Chast and Coy,*
> *To court her's nonsense: If you will enjoy*
> *She must be ravisht; when she's forc't she's free,*
> *A perfect Prostitute to Industry.*

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[28] Rosalyn Diprose, *The Bodies of Women: Ethics, Embodiment and Sexual Difference* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 86-7.

> This is the short Substance of this Address, and indeed is the chief Design of the following Poem, next to doing that Justice to the *Scots* Nation, which I thought my Duty. If either be accepted or esteemed useful, the *A*uthor is sufficiently gratified. [29]

The lines Defoe's Preface presented as a six line stanza are located on separate pages near the poem's end. Its inclusion makes a composite intertext to set up a bridging expectancy. Inculcation, or teaching by repetition, is the practice underlined in another register by Defoe's phrase, 'which you will find again' [30]. Thus, this key passage is introduced as a lost object, the invocation to self-rape takes on the character of a lost memory, returned to Scotland like a gift. Aside from being decontextualized, made foreign, this passage connects by operating as a double conclusion, an end in the beginning. This is at once its force as rhetoric, and its weakness. Repetition, in its strictest sense, can never occur. If Defoe cannot resist underlining his own strategies, when this stanza is found near the end of Part III, both at home and unhomely, it has undergone changes:

> *Nature*'s a Virgin *very Chast* and Coy,
> *To Court her's Nonsence* ; if ye will enjoy,
> *She must be Ravish'd* ;
> When she's forc'd, she's free,
> *A perfect Prostitute to Industry* ;
> *Freely* she opens to th' *Industrious Hand*,
> And pays them all the *Tribute* of the *Land*.
> The Strong Laborious Hand she can't Deny,
> She's *only Backward*, where they won't apply. [31]

Writers, including Defoe, used marriage as a political metaphor [32]. *Caledonia* takes sisterhood, however, as the defining bond, and immediately after Defoe's claim about sufficient gratification or moderate desire, the key term 'Debt of Justice', previously applied

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[29] Defoe, *C*E, p. viii.

[30] Defoe, *C*E, p. viii. *OED*, Vol. VII, p. 832: "**Inculcate** ... f. L. *inculcat-*, ppl. stem of *inculcare* to stamp in with the heel, tread in, cram in, press in, impress upon (the mind) ... " its secondary and literal meaning, recorded as late as 1657, combined with its Scotttish style loss of the last vowel and its inherently aggressive Latin root.

[31] Defoe, *C*L, p. 55.

[32] See *Life*, p. 223.

to Scotland and the nation's political representatives, slips over into his own self-representation:

> I acknowledge that the Honour done both to the Author and the Work, in the ready subscription to the Charge, by such an illustrious Roll of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, and in the Grant from her Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, to prevent surreptitious Impressions of it, are such Honours, especially being done before the Performance has been shown, as I know not how to express my grateful Sense of, only by acknowledging my self infinitely obliged, and ever bound to show my Gratitude, both to the Gentlemen, and on their Accounts to the whole Nation; and tho their own modesty forbids me printing a List of Names of the Subscribers; yet it cannot be conceal'd from the World, that any Man that attempts to serve *Scotland*, shall always meet with Men of Sense and Honour there, both to reward and encourage him.
>
> The Debt of Justice due from me on this Account, will, I hope, excuse me for offering these Sheets to the Parliament of *Scotland* ... [33]

Returning now to the poem, whilst Defoe's visual agenda has already been remarked upon, its relationship with other symbols of power, such as the 'Industrious hand', is shown most clearly in a stanza in Part I:

> (*b*) *Hail Science*, Natures *second Eye*,
> *Begot* on Reason *by Philosophy*,
> *Man's Telescope* to all that's *Deep* and *High* ;
> *What Infinites* dost thou pursue !
> The *Tangled Skeins of Nature* how undo !
> Pierce all her darkest Clouds, *her Knots untye*,
> And leave her naked to the wandring Eye. [34]

Whilst Defoe's projector can, then, be identified with both the scientific public spirit and the explorer who, as Teresa de Lauretis writes, "crosses the boundary and "penetrates" the other space", as "the active principle of culture, the establisher of distinction, the creator of

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[33] Defoe, *CE*, p. viii.
[34] Defoe, *CL*, Pt. I, p. 8.

difference", Part I also sets up the distinction between land and sea as a relationship of mutual invasion. Thus *Caledonia* is described as "Fitted for Commerce, and cut out for Trade ; The Seas the Land, the Land the Seas invade" [35]. The majority of Part I afterwards turns to describe the rich rewards to be easily gained from the sea, starting with a comparison that, like the reference to Buchanan, seems designed to exhibit Defoe's knowledge and respect for the country's literary culture:

> But when thy daring Sons the *Waves* explore,
> The *Ocean* yields her (*a*) unexhausted Store :
> Thy open Harbours all her Gifts divide,
> *And Seas of Wealth*, roll in with ev'ry Tide :
> The *Golden Shoals*, thy very Nets pursue,
> Laugh at the lesser Treasures of *Peru* ;
> Prompt thee to change the Meanness of thy State.
> Bid thee, when e're thou wilt, be Rich and Great.
> ...
>
> (a) Not our Experience only allows the Store to be unexhausted, in that the Quantity is every Year renewed; but Authors tell us, that even in their daily Fishing in one and the same place, when great Quantities are taken up, yet those that remain, and may immediately be taken in the same place, seem not to be lessened. [36]

Giving the Latin text afterwards, Defoe's footnote roughly translates a passage from Boethius's *Scotorum Historiæ*. Citing such a powerful authority in some way deflects attention from the conceit of transmuting fish into gold. Later this comparison is extended to include not simply Peruvian gold mines, but "Isles of Pearl", the "Fruitful Nile", and "the more Fruitful (*d*) *Caribees*", about which the footnote comments that these "Islands ... as now Improv'd by the *English*, are suppos'd to yield the greatest Produce of any Spot of Ground in the World of equal Extent" [37]. If Defoe elsewhere repeats this tactic of an English comparison which either flatters the Scots or seems to give them the advantage, his

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35 Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 43; Defoe, *CL*, Pt. I, p. 6.

36 Defoe, *CL*, Pt. I, p. 13; see Hector Boethius, *Scotorum Historiæ Prima Gentis Origine, cum Aliarum et Rerum et Gentium Illustratione non Vulgari*, Libri XIX (Paris, 1575), p. 8.

37 Defoe, *CL*, Pt. I, p. 16.

examples still refer to the exploitation of non-European resources by European nations. In this sense, then, the fantasy of wealth is, for Scotland, both a self-colonizing narrative and a deflection of her own desire to compete in such markets. Further, whilst the nation's future possibilities are shown as bettering what are presented as economically impressive comparisons, Part I closes with another set of images that similarly contrast the non-European with Scotland, but which reflect instead on a current state of affairs:

> Nor is there less of Injury appears
> About her Mountains, *or her Mountaineers.*
> View but the Savage (*b*) *Madagascar* Moors,
> (*c*) *Campeche* Indians, or (*d*) *Circassian* Boors,
> And when the Characters we shall compare,
> A *Northern Highland-man*'s a Christian there.
> Polite his Manners, and his (*a*) *Modern Dress,*
> Is Beauty all, when match'd with *Ugliness.* [38]

If this satiric passage surrounds the Highlander, more likely to be associated by an English reader with paganism and violent feuding, with a series of more negative stereotypes, Defoe remains the one who can differentiate between ugliness and beauty, a visual quality he had earlier argued was "*best describ'd by Usefulness*" [39]. Yet the '*Highland-man*', whose status is seemingly superior to these negative non-European contrasts, has no part in either of the marine or the agricultural improvement projects. The ironic stress on Christianity as his primary virtue thus pinpoints a double strategy of containment and recuperation, which disguises the exclusionary force of Defoe's picture. Similarly, the fantasy of inconceivable wealth from fishing has less weight than his criticism of the Scots for not developing this industry and defending their territorial rights:

> When, *Caledonians,* when will you be wise,
> And search for *certain Wealth* in Native Seas ?
> A Wealth by Heav'n design'd for *none but You,*
> A Wealth that does your very Hands pursue ;
> Upbraids You with Neglect of Your own Right,

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[38] Defoe, *CL*, Pt. I, pp. 19-20.
[39] Defoe, *CL*, Pt. I, p. 3.

And courts *Invading Neighbours in your Sight.*

When, *Caledonians,* when will You be wise ?
When from your *Clouded Circumstances* rise ?
Banish Invaders, *Heavens own Gifts* enjoy,
This would Your *Native Poverty* destroy. [40]

The act of invasion at this point no longer describes a neutral self-relation, but becomes part of a more volatile equation in which outsiders are said to be courted *'in your Sight'*. Whilst Defoe's criticism of the Scots is displaced onto the sea, this now feminized identity is thus shown as capable of going against Heaven's own design in an act of voyeurism designed to spur jealousy. Success, then, measured in part by the banishing of foreign invaders, immediately brings in wider issues of security, promising the further fantasy of the return of all Scotland's sons:

This would restore your Ancient dear bought Name,
This, *and your Valour,* would revive Your Fame ;
How would your *Navies* quickly spread the *Seas,*
And guard that *Wealth* they help You to possess ?
How would Your Commerce *all your Sons* restore,
And they'd *seek Home* that *shun'd that Home before ?* [41]

This stanza ends with a heightened vision of Scotland as "*Europe*'s Fear", ready to share "Their War, their Wealth, their Trade, their Honours". Placed first, war's conditions directly influence how other countries' wealth and trade are to be shared. Invasion is, however, now shown to be part of a binary paradigm:

But *let's Retreat,* Who can the Scene survey,
And View this Wealth the *Neighbour Nations* Prey ;
What Eye, that's *Caledonia*'s Friend, can see
Her *Sons on Shoar,* and *Strangers spread the Sea ?* [42]

[40] Defoe, *CL*, Pt. I, p. 17.
[41] Defoe, *CL*, Pt. I, p. 18.
[42] Defoe, *CL*, Pt. I, p. 18.

This retreat signals a shift of tone and position, yet the friendly narrator's implicit prior invasion links him with Scotland's enemies. Further, whilst this movement of invasion and retreat resembles the *fort / da* action of the death drive, the visual element emphasizes how the act of retreating attempts to gain the neutral observer's self-legitimating authority. Chapter 7 noted *The Consolidator*'s mild satirizing of the divine eye metaphor. Nevertheless, Defoe is still making use of parts of the Cartesian observer's role, whose "elevation", writes Michel de Certeau, "transforms him into a voyeur."

> It puts him at a distance. It transforms the bewitching world by which one was "possessed" into a text that lies before one's eyes. It allows one to be a solar Eye, looking down like a god. [43]

If Defoe's retreat thus also involves a struggle for mastery over the land as text, his foregrounding of the weakness of Scotland's fishing industry, can also be read as a reversal of the identification Baron Belhaven made in July, 1705, when he considered "*England* with Relation to the Succession of *Britain*, as so many Fishes inclosed in a large strong Nett, they have room to Swime, Toss, and Tumble, but as long as the Fisher-men keeps their Hold, they cannot break through;"

> ... if we be Unite, & keep our Hold, & make no unreasonable Demand either of Limitations from our Queen, or Conditions from *England*, but meerly such as the Necessity of this Nation requires, *I* hope, ... That we shall have all our Desires granted, and a good Understanding betwixt the two Nations promoved, not for this time only, but for ever ; Which, if they do slight at this time, *I* dare pretend to Prophesie, That, *The Time will come, when they will give More with less Ceremonie.* [44]

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[43] Michel de Certeau, *On the Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 36.

[44] Belhaven, *The Lord Belhaven's Speech in Parliament, The 17th of July 1705* (Edinburgh: 8142.bb.9., pp. 1-7, 4°, 1706), pp. 6-7.

Further, Defoe's deliberately fantastic approach to the end rewards, together with his stress on Noah's courageous venturing "out to Sea" as an act of "*Faith*" that saved him from death, and his later description of "the Bounties of the *Sea*" as "*Heaven's Bounty*", also suggest some implicit New Testament subtexts, for it there that catching fish is a miraculous event with metaphoric overtones [45]. In *Luke*, 5, for example, Jesus tells Simon to "Launch out into the deep and let down your nets for a draught." Despite having had no success the night before, "they inclosed a great multitude of fishes: and their net brake", and subsequently "filled both the ships, so that they began to sink". After the fishermen have joined him as disciples, Jesus "said unto Simon, Fear not ; from henceforth thou shalt catch men". In *Matthew* and *Mark*, the fisherman follow Jesus without a miracle [46]. In *John*, 21, the miraculous catch occurs but not, however, till after the crucifixion and resurrection. Thus, the motif of excess becomes part of a recognition scene which transcends death, during which "Simon Peter went up, and", following his master's order,

> drew the net to land full of great fishes, an hundred and fifty and three : and for all there were so many, yet was not the net broken. [47]

If, then, at one level, the miracle which could be said to begin and end Christ's mission suggests also how religion implicitly links praise and satire, Defoe's emphasis on the fishing industry's importance is not, however, reflected in his final paean to improvement. Thus, neither the closing section's assertions, that "The barren Muirs shall weighty sheaves bestow, / Th'uncultivated Vales rich Pastures show, / The Mountains Flocks and Herds *in stead* of Snow", nor the poem's final lines, mention the sea's potential:

> Here fruitful Hills, and there the Flowry Plain,
> Deep undiscov'rd Funds of wealth contain.
> The Silver Veins and vast Mettallick store,

45 Defoe, *CL*, Pt. I, pp. 14-6.
46 *Luke*, 5. 4-10. See *Matthew*, 4. 18-22; *Mark*, 1. 16-20.
47 *John*, 21. 11.

Forbid to call her *wildest Mountains* poor.
The Mines of Lead, of Copper, and of Coal,
Enrich the several parts, *those parts the whole.*
Nothing remains to make her Wealth compleat,
But that *her right Hand* and *her left* may meet. [48]

Whilst the theme of invasion, and then of invasion and retreat's throwing forwards and retraction, gained new meaning in Part I, Part II's opening stanza unites author and readers for the first time in another invasive act. Clearly, then, the implications of this metaphor are capable of producing at least four very different responses depending on the reader's nationality and opinion on the Union:

THE Plan's describ'd, the Seas and Shores survey'd ;
Let's now the Treasures of the Land Invade ;
Traverse their Hills, and all their Vales Descry,
And spread their just Description to the Eye ;
The *Rugged Nation*, plac'd by Nature here,
Shall in their *fancied Poverty* appear ;
The World shall blush, when they their Picture see,
And Fame grow *Proud to Print* their History.
The Soil no more *unjust Reproach* shall bear,
For all they Talk of Barren's *slander here*,
And 'tis, *or may be* Fruitful ev'ry where.

The next couplet then introduces "A hardy Race," who "possess the stormy Strand, / And share the Moderate Bounties of the land" [49]. If the power to invade Scotland is now explicitly linked with the visual, after attacking the clan system Part II describes the future escape from poverty in related terms with the prediction that "Th'enlighten'd Crowd, shall their own Freedom see, / *For wilful Blindness only, shuts out Liberty*". With "Blind Dependence" at an end, Defoe writes that "*new Sight* shall once but bless the Poor, 'Tis these will *Scotland*'s Liberty Restore" [50].

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[48] Defoe, *CE*, pp. 59-60.
[49] Defoe, *CL*, Pt. II, p. 21.
[50] Defoe, *CL*, Pt. II, p. 24.

Christianity provided the thematic link in Part I, which united the main fishery plans with the marginalized Highlander. Similarly, having repossessed the visual metaphor with the lines, "now, in all their Miseries, let's View, / What Blessings they industriously pursue", Defoe's image of the "*Instructed Poor*," whose "very Miseries are Bless'd" by their religious virtue, shows how the Eye is not only a commanding overseer but also the universal figure of hierarchy with meanings dependent on its social context:

> Crush'd with injurious Homage, they obey
> GOD and their Landlord, but with diff'rent Eye ;
> And yet *to both* they pay without Regret,
> *To This the Homage, and to That the Debt.* [51]

The remainder of Part II details Scottish military valour in European campaigns, yet the narrative is halted towards the end when Defoe criticizes the "Fatal Price" of these frequently mercenary acts of "Conquest" by "VALIANT *SCOTS*" who, with youth and "Noble Blood", were never meant "to storm like Musqueteers":

> You had no *desperate Fortunes* there to raise
> Your names enough, *you could not fight for Praise :*
> ... *Scotland* has Sons indeed, but none to spare,
> To furnish out the *Shows and Sports* of War ;
> You are her tenderest part, which touch the whole,
> And what lets out your Blood, *lets out her Soul.*

Satyr interrupts at this point, to state her hatred of "this Volunteering War", in which men with "neither King, nor Country to retrieve, /Neither to gain Dominion, or to save", will "die for nothing but the fame of Brave". Having denied any "Personal Satyr", Defoe's footnote called "Volunteering ... a Vice in War, as 'tis now practis'd, where Men fit to lead Armies, serve as private Centinels", and hoped he might be "excus'd" for "condemning the practice, as an Injury" to Scotland. The stanza itself was rounded off with a couplet: "So (*b*)

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51 Defoe, *CL*, Pt. II, p. 25.

Foster Hang'd himself with *deep Design, / Only to see himself be buried fine*", and this footnoted comment:

> *(b)* Foster *Hanged himself.* A Foolish Fellow in *England,* who often talk'd of Hanging himself, that he might have a fine Funeral, and at last he did it ; but whether upon that account, or no, is not very certain. [52]

Describing earlier Scottish mercenary activity as a volunteering action, with death bringing nothing but a "Brave" reputation, Defoe's use of an English suicide as his example deflects part of the satire. There is at first sight, however, something irrelevant about his strategy, which continues to mock the "bubbl'd Heroe", whose actions amount to a desire "To live in Air, and WALK in Memory" [53]. For this theme precedes a celebration of the new military agenda and conditions which began with William's European wars and continued under Marlborough's command, so that "The present rising Glory of their Name, / Comes up to all that's ancient in their Fame" [54]. This point would, then, have flattered the minor aristocracy and those professional soldiers who had become increasingly dependent on Crown patronage for their military and social advancement. William, indeed, had been "generous with titles for his officers", ennobling George Hamilton, Thomas Livingston, and Sir David Colyear. Thus, wrote Keith M. Brown, "the military elite was more committed to the British state than the nobility in general", a point well made by the Edinburgh debates of 1707:

> Of the nineteen military officers in the parliament in January 1707, eighteen supported the union, and of the twenty-seven peers who were either serving officers, who had held commissions since 1688, or whose eldest sons were officers, twenty-one supported the union. [55]

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[52] Defoe, *CL*, Pt. II, p. 33.

[53] Defoe, *CL*, Pt. II, p. 34.

[54] Defoe, *CL*, Pt. II, p. 36.

[55] Keith M. Brown, 'From Scottish Lords to British Officers: State Building, Elite Integration and the Army in the Seventeenth Century', in *Scotland and War, AD 79—1918*, ed. by Norman Macdougall (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991), pp. 133-69, (pp. 145-52).

Yet there is also the sense that Defoe's satirizing of those who are still supposedly walking on memories subtly displaces the arguments about Scotland's military independence presented by anti-Union writers such as Fletcher, as it mocks Baron Belhaven's November 2, 1706, vision of the declining status of "*the present Peers of Scotland*, whose Noble Ancestors conquered Provinces, over-run Countries, reduc'd and subjected Towns and fortify'd Places, exacted Tribute through the greatest part of *England*". Speaking on the *Union Betwixt the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England*, Belhaven thought he saw them

> now walking in the Court of Requests like so many *English* Attornies, laying aside their walking Swords when in Company with the *English* Peers, lest their Self-Defence should be found Murder. [56]

If *Caledonia*'s themes of violence and its violently expressed approaches to ensuring Scotland's future prosperity combined satire with optimism about the future, Chapter 8 has examined how the death drive is inseparable from the desire for union. After 1707, Defoe made three further visits to the north, the last in 1712. Thus, his 1726 *Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, which expressed a good deal less satisfaction with Scotland's immediate economic prospects, was no longer a current first hand portrait [57]. To conclude, then, I want to look instead at the way in which two tracts, standing midway in the narrative of Defoe's flagging optimism, used various representations of death to support the Union.

In the 1713 work, *Union and No Union*, which evaluated arguments that had broken out about the Succession, alteration of the Malt Tax, and religion, Defoe took the situation "to be something like the Exhortations of an Aged and Tender Parent, or Parents on their Death Bed to their Son, who was upon the Point of taking a Wife" [58]. The identification process here switches between the unspecified gender of 'an Aged and Tender Parent' to an

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56 Belhaven, *The Lord Beilhaven's Speech in the Scotch Parliament, Saturday the Second of November, on the Subject-matter of an Union Betwixt the two Kingdoms* ... (601.e.56., pp. 3-16, 4°, 1706), p. 3.

57 See Downie, 'Eighteenth-Century Scotland as Seen by Daniel Defoe', *ECL*, 4:1 (1977), 8-12.

58 Defoe, *Union and No Union. Being an Enquiry into the Grievances of the Scots. And How far they are right or wrong, who alledge that the UNION is dissolved.* (522.d.45., pp. 3-24, 4°, 1713), p. 11.

excessive image of the death of both and who speak as one voice. Yet, these blurred boundaries immediately disappear as it is "the Good Man" only, who "tells his Son the particular Duties of his future Condition, as a Master of a Family, and as a Father to his Children". England, as the son, is instructed by the father (symbolizing paternal law) to behave "Tenderly" to Scotland, "his Wife",

> to bear with her want of Temper, with her want of Fortune ; and especially that he should never upbraid her with Mean Circumstances, or lessen her Jointure for want of her Fortune and the like ; then just lives to see them Married and Expires. [59]

Legitimated by the idea of a last wish, Defoe's image lays all the negative issues at Scotland's door, going on to argue that the son cannot be "said at-all to break his Marriage Covenant if he does not [...]"

> use his Wife so kindly as his Father Exhorted him to do ; because the Woman takes him upon the express Terms of a Marriage, *for Better for Worse*, yet hardly any Man but will cause the Remembrance of his Dying Father's Exhortations and Recommendations to Influence his Conduct very much ; and if he be a Kind and Tender Husband, *It can hardly be supposed he will lay any burden upon his Wife but what he shall find of Necessity at that time for the Preservation and Good of his Family, and with due Regard to her Circumstances and Abilities.*

Despite "Unkindness or Misunderstandings ... between the Marryed Couple, i.e. *The Two Nations*, yet that this can by no means be called a Breach of the Marriage Contract : Nor", Defoe argued, "can either side Claim thereby, that the Marriage or Union should be Dissolved, which indeed by the Nature of the Bargain cannot be done, no not by the mutual Consent of the Parties Marryed or United" [60]. Defoe's line, that England would note Scotland's condition and ability to pay, can be linked to his closing acknowledgement, that "*Scotland* will be pinch'd hard by the Duties upon Malt," and the response that to "talk

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[59] Defoe, *Union and No Union*, p. 12.
[60] Defoe, *Union and No Union*, pp. 12-3.

Disloyally and Undutifully upon such a Head is to make that a Crime which is only a Misfortune."

> Nor have the people who thus Express themselves, the least pretence for saying they speak the Language of *Scotland*, when they talk thus. The People of *Scotland* may be Aggrieved, and may Complain of those Grievances, but they never, especially as a Nation or Body extend those Complaints beyond the Duty of Good Subjects. [61]

By the next year, however, and in response to Swift's *Publick Spirit of the Whigs*, Defoe had relinquished his image of marital behaviour and dying wishes, writing in *The Scots Nation and Union Vindicated* that, "If *Scotland* was inferiour, *England* by the Encorporation of the Union has made her more than equal, for an Encorporation is a Dissolving both into one : And the *Scots* are become a part of ourselves, since "the Two Natures, nationally Speaking," were now "dissolved into One, *viz. Britain*"

> the Simily or Allusion of a Marriage is lame, and halts in the Case very much; for in a Marriage the Woman is a Subject, an inferiour ; Promises Obedience, and is call'd by the Name of her Husband : But here is an entire Dissolution of the former Capacities and Circumstances, and both become subjected equally to a new Constitution, and take up a new Name. [62]

Defoe's willingness to abandon this common metaphor was, in itself, less remarkable than his repetition, in *propria persona*, of *The Shortest Way*'s extremist rhetoric. Thus, referring to Swift, his tract began with the comment that, "In pursuing an Enemy, that has neither acted the Gentleman or the Christian, methinks no Man ought to expect my keeping any Rules."

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61 Defoe, *Union and No Union*, p. 24.

62 Defoe, *The Scots Nation and Union Vindicated; From the Reflections cast on them in an Infamous Libel, Entitl'd, The Publick Spirit of the Whigs, &c. In which the most Scandalous Paragraphs contain'd therein are fairly Quoted, and fully Answer'd.* (Ashley. 3043, pp. 3-28, 4°, 1714), p. 14.

> Some wild Beasts are reckon'd sporting Creatures, and must be killed fairly ; but others that are Ravenous and Cruel, are knock'd down any how, as we can find them.
>
> I have an Adversary that claims a Place in the last Class, a ravenous Fury, that flies at a whole Nation in spight of an encorporation of Circumstances, and without the Ceremony of pretending to any Provocation. [63]

This tactic serves, however, to introduce a different image of violence and death into the revised interpretation of the Union. For, continuing in this extremist vein, Defoe writes that, "If this wild Creature is kill'd, he dies *Felo de se* ; for *Scotland* being, by the Union, become a Part of our selves, he that Stabbs Scotland, may legally be said to Wound himself"

> for a Man is equally a self-murtherer what Part of his Body soever receives the Wound : And he that Shoots himself into the Belly, is as much *Felo de se*, as he that Cuts his own Throat.

Retaining the marriage metaphor at this point, Defoe resolved to make Scotland "amends, and silence all her Complaints against her Spouse ; for as a Son of *England* has Affronted her, so a Son of England shall do her Justice, and the National Quarrel will be fairly Ballanc'd between us" [64].

Yet, making himself Swift's counterpart, Defoe's suicide analogy, which he had used earlier to belittle Scotland's already minimal military independence, depended on the delusion of total union. Though the operation of the death drive is, therefore, visible in Defoe's work after 1707, this study has used psychoanalytic and feminist theory to argue for its particular relevance to the period before the Union of England and Scotland and the closing down of his poetic voice. If *The True-Born Englishman* was his most popular poem, *Caledonia* marked the highest point of approval by elite circles. There is something strange, then, about Defoe's decision to cease writing poetry. Perhaps, as suggested in my discussion of *The*

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63 Defoe, *The Scots Nation and Union Vindicated*, p. 3.

64 Defoe, *The Scots Nation and Union Vindicated*, pp. 3-4.

Consolidator's satire on poets, certain aspects of poetry were associated in his mind with chaotic libidinal energies that would turn the male mind towards effeminacy and madness. A paradox can, at any rate, surely be located in his marked liking for John Wilmot, the Earl of Rochester, whom he described as "In wit and crime ... hardly ever outdone by one man in the world". Further, at this point in Book I of *Jure Divino*, the poet is associated with a number of real and mythical figures including Pan, and the relevant stanza ends:

> Let him be the god of all unchaste desires,
> Where'er he rules the blood, the blood he fires ;
> He that's in this unhappy crisis got,
> Castrate him young, before his brain's too hot. [65]

There is, then, a link between the symbolic act of castration, which will cool all "unchaste desires", and *The Consolidator*'s plan to whip "modern Rhymers" when "young, *very young*, for Poetasting". Further, though unable to "scourge out" the "Venome of Ribaldry", satire must nevertheless represent for Defoe an internal self-regulatory practice that has certain similarities with the sadomasochistic model of irony proposed in Chapter 1 [66]. The satiric aim, which contains potentially sadistic elements, can thus be connected with the Freudian Superego's punitive role that gives the law its force, but which always risks invoking the inertia of the death drive, and which Lacanian theory would see as related to paternal negation.

The Law of the Father, however, refers primarily to the cultural figure who is 'dead', in the sense of being both depersonalized and alienated, rather than any biological identity. Though it remains conjectural, then, there nevertheless seems to be some reason for seeing the end of Defoe's career as a poetic scourge of public morals as somehow linked with the death of his own father near the end of 1706, a figure whose austerity and cultural parameters the son can be seen as repeating, as satirizing with contradiction and innuendo

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65 Defoe, *JD*, Bk. I, repr. in *Works*, ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III, p. 7; and see John McVeagh, 'Rochester and Defoe: A Study in Influence', *SEL*, 14 (1974), 327-41.
66 Defoe, *CTM*, p. 24.

and, lastly, as surpassing by succeeding in a 'higher' cultural form than the mere religious or political tract.

Defoe's Political Rhetoric has examined how the prose and, in less detail, the poetry of this period deconstructs its own apparent striving for mastery of the subject within a particular debate by using a variety of ironic and intertextual practices. Bringing theory to a field that has received far less attention than his later fictions, has shown the complex processes of internal contestation at work beneath the rational surface. In pinpointing some of the gaps between an author and the multiple identifications of his various personae, this study has highlighted the contradictory positions that result when an individual attempts to locate himself within a variety of positions or social groups that may often be inimical to each other, a strategy of trying, then, to be all things to all men.

Such a strategy bears comparison with certain aspects of the anti-foundationalism of post-modern identity politics, which also emphasize dissimulation. By contrast, however, I have argued that Defoe's mainly non-fictional rhetoric operates from a double position that seeks the master's universal authorization by appealing to the unifying force of popular satisfaction or pleasure, and by reference to ideals—or "society's slaves", as Lacan called them—such as progress and improvement, but which, when going beyond that code, very quickly reveals its basis in an aggressive individualism that would coerce minority groups into conformity by presenting them as chaotic and incapable of proper autonomy [67]. It is, then, this intertwining of the life and death drives in his texts that finally makes Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe's general description of rhetoric, as "precisely that paradoxical element which should be able to confirm everything, but which, once introduced, begins to destroy everything", so relevant to Defoe in particular [68].

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[67] Lacan, Position of the Unconscious', p. 262.

[68] Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe, 'The Detour', trans. by Gary M. Cole, in *The Subject of Philosophy*, ed. and foreword by Thomas Trezise, trans. by Trezise and others, Theory and History of Literature, ed. by Wlad Godzich and Jochen Schulte-Sasse: Vol. 83 (Minneapolis and London: University of Minneapolis Press, 1993), pp. 14-36, (p. 34).

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[1] * and page reference to ***DA*** indicate titles questionably attributed to Defoe.

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An Elegy On Mr. John Tutchin, Author of the Observator, who departed this Life on Tuesday, the 23rd of this Instant September, 1707. in the 44th Year of his Age. Who dy'd a Martyr for the Publick Cause (K.T.C.126.c.1. (1), 1707)
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England's Corruptions and Mismanagements Discover'd. In a Dialogue Between Trueman and Legion. Setting Forth The Vitious and Corrupt Practices of those, who endeavour to Enslave and Ruine this Nation, and Publickly Exclaim against such worthy Patriots of the House of Commons, and others, who endeavour to Preserve the same. (517.k.16. (23.), 4°, pp. 3-31, 1702)
England's Enemies Exposed, And its True Friends and Patriots Defended ... Being a Plain and Particular Confutation of a Wretched Libel call'd the Legion. By a True Englishman (T. 1788 (10), pp. 52, 4°, 1701)
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The History of Faction, Alias Hypocrisy, Alias Moderation, From its First Rise down to its Present Toleration in these Kingdoms (4103.bbb.21, 1705)

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King William's Affection to the Church of England Examin'd (* p. 12: 4103.c.51., pp. 26, 4°, 1703)
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The Late Prints for a Standing Army, and in Vindication of the Militia Consider'd, are in some parts Reconciled, signed 'Philopatria'(T. 1670. (8), 4°, 1698)
Legion's Humble Address to the Lords (* pp. 16-8, C.175.m.23., pp. 4, 4°, 1704)
A Letter concerning Trade from Several Scots Gentlemen that are Merchants in England (* p. 29, 8229. bbb.54., pp. 15, 4°, Edinburgh, 1706)
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